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The Catholic Historical Review

Vol. XL JULY, 1954 No. 2

SOME UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE BELLAMY STORERS AND CARDINAL O'CONNELL, 1908-1929

Edited by

DOROTHY G. WAYMAN*

Bellamy Storer,[1] basking in a dahabeah on the Nile, on March 5, 1906, was dismissed as American Ambassador to Austria by cable from President Theodore Roosevelt. Roosevelt was incensed—after the consistory of December, 1905, had failed to create John Ireland, Archbishop of St. Paul, a cardinal—at Mrs. Storer's publicizing the president's efforts to influence the Vatican on behalf of both the Archbishops of St. Paul and New York. Issuing flat denials, Roosevelt demanded that Mrs. Storer return all his personal letters. When she failed to do so, he demanded Storer's resignation and replaced him summarily by nominating Charles S. Francis to the Vienna post. Mrs. Storer's indignation led her to cancel plans to attend the wedding in the White House on February 17, 1906, of her nephew, Nicholas

* Mrs. Wayman is the author of *David I. Walsh: Citizen-Patriot* (Milwaukee, 1952). She has recently completed a biography of Cardinal O'Connell.

The originals or copies of the letters published here are in the archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, hereafter referred to as AAB. Out of regard for persons still living the names of a few individuals have been indicated in the correspondence only by initials. The editor wishes to express her gratitude to the Most Reverend Richard J. Cushing, Archbishop of Boston, for his gracious permission in allowing these letters from the archdiocesan archives to be published.

[1] Bellamy Storer (1849-1922) was a Cincinnati lawyer; a representative in Congress, 1891-1895; American Minister to Belgium, 1897-1899; Minister to Spain, 1899-1902; Ambassador to Austria, 1902-1906. Maria Longworth (1849-1932) was first married to George Ward Nichols who died in 1895, and then to Bellamy Storer.

Longworth, to the president's eldest daughter, Alice Roosevelt. Controversy conducted in the press brought a rupture of friendships long cherished by the Storers with Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and Archbishop Ireland. Mrs. Storer was not long in perceiving another star on the horizon, and the hitherto unpublished letters which follow afford an interesting example of an archbishop adroitly evading unsolicited management by a determined and managerial woman.

William Henry O'Connell had succeeded to the see of Boston upon the death of Archbishop John J. Williams on August 30, 1907. Gossip had already implied that he had "the inside track" with Pius X and his Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry Del Val[2], whom Mrs. Storer blamed for Ireland's disappointment.[3] O'Connell must have regarded arrival of the Storers to live at 56 The Fenway, Boston, with prudent reservations, for the spate of publicity which Mrs. Storer's loquacity had released had as yet barely subsided. The situation was the more delicate for Archbishop O'Connell inasmuch as all the characters of the little drama had been personally known to him during his years as rector of the North American College at Rome (1895-1901) and were still his friends.

The Storers fitted naturally into the Brahmin society of Boston, both by kinship and by wealth and culture. Larz Anderson,[4] a nephew of Mrs. Storer, and his wife, the former Isabel Perkins, were living at "Weld" in Brookline. Mrs. Anderson, heiress to a clipper-ship fortune of seventeen millions, had first met Anderson in Rome while he was chargé-d'affaires at the American Embassy in 1896. Mrs. Storer's intimate friend, Isabella Stewart Gardner (Mrs. Jack, as Boston called her), was completing the building and interior decora-

[2] Boston *Sunday Journal*, December 20, 1903: "Bishop O'Connell has influential friends at Rome . . . a brilliant conversationalist, a musician, an orator and a man of marked administrative ability, he is perhaps without peer in the United States today. . . . He is a personal friend of Pius X. The great Cardinal Satolli and Bishop O'Connell are the warmest of friends. . . . People in Boston have long hailed him as the coming man in Catholic ecclesiastical affairs."

[3] Maria Longworth Storer, *In Memoriam: Bellamy Storer* (Boston, 1923), p. 80, Ireland to Mrs. Storer, St. Paul, September 11, 1903: "I am not totally won over yet to the new Pope—I shall never be, if he names Merry del Val, his Secretary of State."

[4] Cf. Isabel Anderson (Ed.), *Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat* (New York, 1940). Larz Anderson (1866-1937), American Minister to Belgium, 1911-1912, and Ambassador to Japan, 1912-1913. At Mrs. Anderson's death in 1948 "Weld" was bequeathed as a park to the town of Brookline, Massachusetts.

tion of her magnificent Venetian palace, Fenway Court.[5] During O'Connell's years in Rome she had been touring Europe gathering her art collection.

American seminarians during O'Connell's rectorship in Rome remembered Roosevelt's mother-in-law, Mrs. Charles Carow, as a convert residing there who supplied the flowers for the repository in the college Church of Santa Maria dell' Umiltà on Holy Thursdays. It was said that Roosevelt had even accompanied her to Mass in the church on occasion. When O'Connell was Bishop of Portland, President Roosevelt, on a tour of Maine, had sent the bishop the first invitation to dine with him.[6] During O'Connell's papal mission to Japan in November, 1905, Roosevelt had extended official courtesies which O'Connell warmly acknowledged, while extending congratulations on the approaching marriage of the president's daughter.[7]

Archbishop Ireland also had been a visitor in Rome in O'Connell's time. He was credited with securing appointment by President William McKinley of O'Connell's good friend, General William Draper of[8] Hopedale, Massachusetts, as American Ambassador to the Quirinal. Draper's convert-cousin, Walter Winsor, was a seminarian under William O'Connell in Rome. If O'Connell was not present, he certainly knew all about the dinner given by Draper in the Palazzo Piombino for Archbishop Ireland in 1899. For Bellamy Storer, in the Roman years, O'Connell had formed a genuine liking. He was to write of him: "amiability personified. Later he found himself between the devil and the deep sea diplomatically, with the usual aftermath. Such a pity! But why will well-meaning laymen mix themselves up in ecclesiastical politics which are always fatal to

[5] Morris Carter, *Isabella Stewart Gardner and Fenway Court*. (Boston, 1925), p. 149. For her private audience with Leo XIII in 1895, requested at the suggestion of Cardinal Rampolla, she had her seven strings of pearls made into a single rope and reported that, as she knelt, the pontiff "took the pearls in his hands and seemed to find pleasure in them." On Mrs. Gardner's death on July 17, 1924, she bequeathed Fenway Court as an endowed museum. Duveen is said to have offered, in vain, fifteen million dollars for her art collection. Samuel Nathaniel Behrman, *Duveen* (New York, 1952), p. 153.

[6] William Cardinal O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years* (Boston, 1934), p. 227.

[7] Library of Congress, Theodore Roosevelt Papers, O'Connell to Roosevelt, Rome, January 24, 1906.

[8] National Archives, Department of State. Despatch #386 of Draper, February 4, 1899: "After Archbishop Ireland's arrival in Rome . . . I invited him to dinner, asking to meet him several special friends among the prelates resident here, all American except Mgr. Stonor, and also several of the most

all who touch them!"[9] The Storers' Boston home in 1908 was only a hop-skip-and-jump from the granite chateau on Bay State Road which was the archbishop's residence at the corner of Granby Street.[10] In the ensuing years Bellamy Storer would frequently be O'Connell's companion on his regular afternoon walks in Boston's Back Bay. The Storers customarily spent their summers in Europe where Mrs. Storer's daughter by her first marriage was the wife of the Marquis Pierre de Chambrun, and her niece Clara, sister of Nicholas Longworth, had married a younger brother, Aldebert, Comte de Chambrun. The Chambrun brothers were direct descendants of the Marquis de Lafayette.

Mrs. Storer's nature was ardent, artistic, and impulsive. Her decorative work won gold medals at the Paris expositions of 1889 and 1901. During the time of her first marriage as Mrs. Nichols she founded the Rookwood Pottery in Cincinnati. Hearing by chance a lecture on Japanese ceramics, she promptly paid $3,500 for the lecturer's collection and despatched a squad of Rookwood potters to Salem, Massachusetts, to study with him.[11] Her letters show feverish energy, whether she is trying to by-pass a matrimonial court, so that a bridal couple can sail with her for "instructions" on their honeymoon; or whether she is bent on capturing a Jesuit in Nova Scotia to lecture on India in Boston. Her headlong emulation of Mrs. Gardner's private oratory, complete with stained glass from European cathedrals and antique monastic furniture, in the end brought disappointment to Mrs. Storer. She set up for herself a private chapel and a chaplain-in-residence; and then found she had run afoul of Archbishop O'Connell who had his own views about converts.[12]

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prominent American gentlemen of the American colony." Archbishop Edmund Stoner was one of the co-consecrators at the elevation of O'Connell as Bishop of Portland at Rome on May 19, 1901.

[9] William Cardinal O'Connell, *Reminiscences of Twenty-five Years* (Boston, 1926), p. 26.

[10] In 1915 the then Cardinal O'Connell moved his residence to 49 Rawson Road, Brookline, maintaining the Granby Street house as the Chancery Office of the archdiocese until the present chancery was built in 1927. The building is now the Academy of the Sisters of Notre Dame. Its rear windows command a beautiful view of the Charles River Basin.

[11] Dorothy G. Wayman, *Edward Sylvester Morse: A Biography* (Cambridge, 1942), p. 306. Letter of Morse to John Gould, March 21, 1884.

[12] "If there is anything in the world that wearies me, it is this sort of spiritual snobbery which one occasionally meets among converts. . . . They

It had become fashionable in those years for Boston society to attend major ceremonies in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross when the archbishop was to preach. O'Connell deliberately emphasized pomp and ceremony[13] to offset the disdainful opinion of Catholicism prevailing in Puritan Boston in the nineteenth century. O'Connell, fifty years old at the time, was at the height of his oratorical powers, a striking, powerfully-built figure in his robes, and much courted by non-Catholic society. Mrs. Jack Gardner invited him so often to her notable parties at Fenway Court that a Bostonian ventured to ask O'Connell if the lady might be inclined toward the Catholic faith. "Nonsense," answered the archbishop, "she only likes the decorative effect of my robes in her Renaissance palace."[14] With the Bellamy Storers the archbishop was a guest at the French play with which the Gothic Room at Fenway Court was first opened to view on January 9, 1909. Tickets were priced at $20.00 and Mrs. Gardner donated the proceeds of $1,480 to Archbishop O'Connell for the sufferers in the Messina earthquake.[15] He was serving on a committee of fifty prominent citizens organized by Governor Curtis Guild of Massachusetts which raised $100,000 for the relief fund.

The reserve and reticence which O'Connell maintained in his dealings with Mrs. Storer must have irked her. It is obvious that he never revealed to her his knowledge that, as early as 1902, Theodore Roosevelt had been politically interested in a red hat for his native bailiwick of New York.[16] She terminated her residence in Boston after the blow in 1911 to her passion for being "in the know" about ecclesiastical matters, for the archbishop had forborne to give her

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want reserved seats and a private box, special devotions and limited sodalities and special priests. . . . This sort of thing should never be encouraged." *The Letters of His Eminence, William Cardinal O'Connell* (Boston, 1915), I, 138.

[13] The Boston *Globe* of December 9, 1907, described minutely the "new" ritual introduced by O'Connell: "When the procession reached the sanctuary, the ministers of the mass moved down the center aisle to the vestibule where, as though timed to the minute, the archbishop's carriage arrived at the entrance . . . one of the ministers was carrying an elaborate vestment, the cappa magna . . . placed over the robes of the archbishop . . . the choir sang Ecce Sacerdos Magnus."

[14] Personal communication to the author.

[15] The earthquake occurred at Messina, Sicily, on December 28, 1908.

[16] A letter of Monsignor Ricardo de Samper to Bishop O'Connell, Rome, October 7, 1902, quoted a White House conversation in which Roosevelt suggested a red hat for Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan of New York who had died on May 5, 1902. Archives of the Diocese of Portland.

any hint of the impending elevation to the College of Cardinals of himself, Archbishop John M. Farley of New York, and the Apostolic Delegate to the United States, Archbishop Diomede Falconio. She had to read it in the evening newspapers.[17]

* * * * *

56 Fenway
Wednesday, October 21 [1908]

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop

I have just noticed that to the card of invitation with which you have honored me—to the Centennial Celebration[18]—there is appended a request for an answer. We had arranged, before knowing the exact date of the Celebration, to go to Washington and the West this week to be gone a fortnight. But I was delighted to alter our plans and stay until the latest possible moment of the Celebration, latest that is which would allow me to reach Cincinnati in time to register as an Elector & vote. This will give us the pleasure of at least Wednesday and Thursday exercises.

Archbishop Keane[19] will, as I learn from a letter just received from him, arrive on Tuesday the 27th inst. in the afternoon, come direct to us and stay with us until the moment we are compelled to start West.

Thanking Your Grace for the kindness of the invitation and always your constant kindness, I am

Most faithfully and reverently yours
Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

56 Fenway
28, October

Dear and Reverend Archbishop,

Permit me to express my admiration and delight at the great epoch-making sermon of this great day.[20] It was magnificent, and if the

[17] Cf. the letter of Bellamy Storer of October 30, 1911, *infra*.

[18] The centenary of the Diocese of Boston which fell on April 8, 1908, in order not to conflict with celebrations in New York and Philadelphia, was observed on the five days beginning October 28, 1908. Cardinal Gibbons intoned the *Te Deum* at the solemn pontifical Mass on November 1.

[19] Archbishop John J. Keane (1848-1918); first rector of the Catholic University of America, 1887-1896; Archbishop of Dubuque, 1900-1911. The lingering illness of his last years began just at the time of this letter.

[20] The text of the sermon can be found in O'Connell, *Sermons and Addresses* (Boston, 1911), III, 121-139. The archbishop chose to tackle head on the issue

opportunity was given by the Lord, the Lord had ready the man to seize it. I cannot trust myself to try to put into words the impression that the sermon made and will make when it is read.

As you must have been informed by himself, dear Abp. Keane was prevented from coming at the last moment, by an attack of his old trouble. I am compelled to go West for a fortnight on Thursday night or Friday morning and feared, unless I perhaps indiscreetly ventured to intrude these few words on Your Grace's too busy moments, I should have no opportunity of saying how delighted I was with the sermon. Mrs. Storer joins in presenting her most respectful and kindest regards.

Most faithfully and respectfully,

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

56 Fenway
22 December, 1908

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop

Last week I met an English gentleman, a Convert, Dr. Rauppert [*sic*] who was warmly recommended to me by friends of ours in England. He told me that he hoped to come to Boston for some lectures—under the favor of Your Grace—but that the time was not yet fixed. Might I ask if this is to be the case, that Your Grace would have me informed of the dates proposed as I wish very much to be in Boston and be able to show Dr. Rauppert[21] some courtesy.

We are just finishing the house in Washington and I have been there twice to supervise and approve—and these two absences, together with having to be in Ohio for the election time have kept me more away from Boston than I like or had expected.

I hope Yr. Grace is in perfect health and wish for you and your great works all the Blessings of this Holy Season.

Most respectfully and faithfully yours

Bellamy Storer

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of bigotry. His theme was "The child of the immigrant is called to fill the place which the Puritan has left" (p. 137).

[21] J. Godfrey Raupert, Anglican clergyman; convert, 1895; Knight of St. Gregory, 1912; died at Wiesbaden, 1928.

December 23, 1908

My dear Mr. Storer:—

I have received your kind note of the 22nd. regarding Dr. Raupert. I have not asked Dr. Raupert to deliver any lectures here in Boston because I do not know anything definite about him. I shall deem it a favor if you can give me any information concerning Dr. Raupert and the character of the lectures he delivers.

I thank you for your good wishes and I pray you to accept my cordial greetings and best wishes for yourself and Mrs. Storer for Christmas and the New Year.

Very sincerely yours

* * * * *

56 Fenway
24 December, 1908

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop

Pray accept my thanks for the kind words for Mrs. Storer and myself in your note of yesterday which has just reached me.

Dr. Raupert is a close friend of Father R. [obert] H. [ugh] Benson who was very desirous that we should meet his friend during his visit to America. Dr. Raupert, I learned, was staying with the Fathers at Notre Dame, Indiana; and then I wrote him, telling him we should be so glad to meet a friend of Fr. Benson's if he was coming East. He replied that he hoped to come to Boston to lecture at such time as Your Grace might advise him would be convenient. Quite by accident, at the Apostolic Mission House at Washington, we met Dr. Raupert and Fr. Vaughan[22]—and the former said again he hoped Your Grace might fix some date for him to come and lecture in Boston, as he has been doing in Chicago, New York and Washington. Also, I believe, in Baltimore.

I should not have intruded my inquiry on Your Grace's busy moments, had I not taken it for granted that the matter had been fully laid before you.

[22] Probably Bernard Vaughan, S.J. (1847-1922), a brother of Herbert Cardinal Vaughan, Archbishop of Westminster. O'Connell had known the four Vaughan brothers in Rome. Cf. his *Recollections of Seventy Years*. "They were all men of great piety and all exercised the very finest influence wherever they went" (p. 193).

I do not know what he wished to lecture on specifically, except so far as his reputation as a Catholic Psychologist would lead one to take for granted—nor have I ever met anyone who has heard him. It may not be improper, however, to enclose a notice of the Dr.'s books—which fell from the leaves of a late number of the Ave Maria; but I trust Your Grace will not for a moment suppose I am advocating or urging his coming. I write, as I said, simply to ascertain the approximate date of his coming, that if he came, I might try to be here. I may add, that while I am told Dr. Raupert is an Oxford man, his accent shews decidedly his German parentage and, probably, birth. Your Grace will pardon my occupying yr. time with so slight a matter and will believe me

With great respect

Most faithfully yours

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

56 Fenway

31st December, 1908

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop,

The most that Mrs. Storer and I can send Your Grace for the poor sufferers of the Earthquake in Italy[23] is what I enclose, half for each of us. We wish it could be a hundredfold greater!

Always Your Grace's respectful friend and well-wisher for the New Year,

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

January 1, 1909.

My dear Mr. Storer:—

I beg to acknowledge with sincere thanks your generous donation for the unfortunate sufferers of Calabria and Sicily. Allow me to present to yourself and Mrs. Storer my hearty good wishes for the New Year.

Very truly yours

[23] At Messina on December 28, 1908. It was estimated that 100,000 persons were killed in the Sicilian city and countryside. The eleventh-century cathedral and most of the buildings of the city were destroyed.

56 Fenway

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop

An old friend, Father F. X. Lachance,[24] has just arrived to stay with us indefinitely. He wishes, of course, to wait on you officially and I wish the honor of presenting him personally to Your Grace. May I bring him to Granby Street; or to the Chancery, and on what day and hour?

In all respect and devotion I am Your Grace's

faithful friend and well wisher

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

January 15, 1909

Dear Mr. Storer:—

I have received your note of January the 14th regarding the Reverend F. X. LaChance [*sic*]. I do not wish to give you the trouble of bringing the Reverend Fr. LaChance to meet me and I have already met him in New York, a fact which he might have told you.

I wish to assure you that I shall always be most happy to see you at any time.

Very faithfully yours,

* * * * *

56 Fenway

Thursday, January 14th, 1909

Monseigneur:

May I send Your Grace the first copy of a little pamphlet I wrote while at Carlsbad last June?[25]

Most respectfully

Maria Longworth Storer

[24] Despite Mr. Storer's spelling (cf. his Rauppert-Raupert *supra*), this would seem to have been Francis Xavier Lasance, well known for his devotional writings. Father Lasance (1860-1946) was, like the Storers, a native of Cincinnati. Ordained in 1883, he had retired from parochial labors in 1890 because of ill health. Archbishop O'Connell's reply was not encouraging for Mrs. Storer's idea of a private chapel and chaplain to rival Mrs. Jack Gardner's Anglican oratory at Fenway Court.

[25] No copy of the pamphlet was found. Archbishop O'Connell was in Rome from April through June, 1909. He spoke at the fiftieth anniversary of the

56 Fenway
January 18th, 1909

Most Reverend Archbishop O'Connell,

Your letter[26] came night before last and I thank you again for what you say about the booklet. You understand so exactly my aim in writing it—and you understand so thoroughly, too, the utter blindness of the people for whom it is written. They are like the Mammoth Cave fish; born without eyes after many generations in darkness. My hope is—as a convert—that (whereas I was blind now I see!) some words of mine may penetrate, through the great Truth they carry—and that the miracle of faith may strike like a shaft of light, creating eyes where there are only rudiments left—and bringing these poor groping souls out into God's sunshine.

There is the true meaning to me of *Adveniat Regnum Tuum*—Heaven knows I count myself nothing, (that dying child[27] made me very humble, a lesson I shall never forget) but the Truth is so great it can use every medium. If only I can do something to help its transmission, I shall feel very thankful—I have been given so much and have done so little for the Lord who has blessed me. I feel that a *great* influence for good is and will be yours, by knowing and meeting these people[28] and I hope that you will continue to go amongst them

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North American College where he had been a seminarian (1881-1884) and rector (1895-1901). He also was present at the beatification of Jeanne d'Arc in June of 1909. On February 10, 1910, at a conference of St. Vincent de Paul in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston, he delivered an address, "The Saint of Patriotism—Blessed Joan of Arc" (O'Connell, *Sermons and Addresses,* III, 252-279). The Storers and Mrs. Jack Gardner were present in the cathedral on the occasion.

[26] No copy was found in the files at the AAB.

[27] Archbishop O'Connell at the time was reorganizing the Catholic Charitable Bureau of the Archdiocese of Boston. His pastoral letter of October, 1909, (*Sermons and Addresses,* III, 146-148) had mentioned ". . . the constant vigilance we must exercise to procure simple justice . . . for these unfortunate outcasts, foundlings and those whose parents are declared legally incompetent of caring for them. The untiring energies of people with queer ideas of sincerity in the endeavor to steal our children from the Church, its doctrines and sacraments, are almost incredible." Mrs. Storer was probably referring here to some example O'Connell had cited.

[28] Archbishop O'Connell had been made a member of the most select men's dining clubs of Boston—Winters' Night, restricted to fifteen members; the Thursday Evening Club and the Wednesday Evening Club. Later he resigned

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when you can. They are not *contented*. They are reaching out and even the scoffers are ill at ease in their scoffing!

I know there is a galvanism in the presence and speech of those who are convinced and who are in authority—I know it helped to bring me in—after 40 years of conviction that Christianity was in the heart and had no special house—and I believe that Your Grace's influence will permeate these people—and draw down the Divine lightning that transfigures and saves the soul—One never can tell when it will strike or how—but we see the flash when it comes! You kindly ask for my opinion—and I give it.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

56 Fenway Boston
January 24th, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

May I write to you about something which may seem far away but which really may have a far reaching influence upon the Church in Europe.

The French Catholics have grown lately more bitter than ever against the German government and the German Emperor. Their feeling about Alsace-Lorraine is more intense than it was even—and the fact that the Pope wrote recently a letter to the Kaiser has made their animosity stronger. I believe that the hope for the future in Europe lies in the friendly alliance of two great Empires, the Protestant German and the Catholic Austrian—and I feel *sure* that the German government in Alsace-Lorraine is *not* anti-Catholic.

Count Wedel, the Governor, is a dear friend of ours and a perfectly just man. His influence has been to strengthen the loyalty of the people to Germany and this has angered those of the clergy who are still French in their sympathies. These latter prevented the nomination of Monseigneur Zorn de Bulach as Bishop of Metz, alleging

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from all (AAB January, 1911) but proposed Bellamy Storer in his own stead for the Winters' Night (AAB O'Connell to Theodore Lyman, November 10, 1910). Judge Robert Grant recorded that O'Connell "was a gracious host and gave excellent dinners. . . . His was the only resignation in my time except for invalidism" [Grant: *Fourscore: An Autobiography* (Boston, 1934), p. 258].

that his father had been a traitor to France, because having all his property and interests in Alsace, he remained there, following the advice and with the approval of Louis Napoleon who said to him: "Suivez vos terres." Mgr de Bulach was made finally auxiliary Bishop of Strassburg. He is one of the finest and best prelates I have ever known and some French Catholics have persecuted and maligned him! His brother is Secretary of State of Alsace-Lorraine. They are a splendid Catholic family.

The hatred in France has been especially bitter against the German "schoolmaster." The cry in 1870 was that "It was the German schoolmaster who won the Battle of Sadowa."

There is evidently now an attempt in Alsace-Lorraine to stir up the idea that Germany is persecuting the Catholic Church. I don't believe it. I am inclined to think that it is French *politics* engendered by the growing popularity of the German Emperor at the Vatican. I heard a French prelate say once "This Pope was appointed by the Emperor of Germany; he ruled the conclave!" They will say anything!

England is only too glad to make trouble for Germany. The article I enclose from the London Times (Jan. 15, 1910) seems to me to be a symptom of race hatred and the French Catholics (some of them) would band together with people who despise their Church if, thereby, they could injure Germany. I see that Baron Zorn de Bulach (brother of the Bishop Auxiliary) is on Count Wedel's side of the question! As a Catholic he is above reproach. Would it not be possible for some of our distinguished German prelates to obtain authentic information as to this Teachers' League and find out if it be not purely German Teachers Union [League of German Patriotism, originally underlined but scratched out].

It would be a real misfortune for the Church if French bitterness should stir up trouble in Germany between the Catholic authorities and the Government. It would make trouble which would be far-reaching and give pleasure to the Church's worst enemies.

If Your Grace could help, directly or indirectly, to preserve the friendly feeling which has grown stronger between Germany and the Vatican, I believe it is for the very best interest of the Church. The French people (it may be the Gallican spirit) invariably put *country* before religion. The French political divisions among Catholics have made them sooner support the atheist rule than have a good Catholic political opponent take its place. The *old* prelates of Alsace-Lorraine

were all appointed as friends of France and I fear very much that they *wish* to antagonize Germany.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer[29]

* * * * *

January 28, 1910

Mrs. Bellamy Storer
56, The Fenway
Boston

Dear Mrs. Storer,

I have received your very interesting letter of January 24th and you have voiced there exactly my sentiments in the matter. You may be sure I shall do what little I can towards the solution of the difficulty.

I wish to assure you that the Holy Father and the Cardinal Secretary of State are very practical men and that they understand perfectly the value of the staunch sterling character of the Germans and the methods and maneuvres of the French which are the same the world over.

With constant best wishes I remain

Yours very sincerely
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

56 Fenway
May 2nd (1910)

Most Reverend Archbishop

I forgot to speak to you about Father Lachance's chance to get a place somewhere in the autumn as chaplain to a convent. I heard

[29] The *Times* of London (January 15, 1910) stated:

"Berlin, Jan. 14: A miniature specimen of Kulturkampf has been raging for some time past in Alsace-Lorraine. The German Teachers Union is regarded by the Roman Catholic Bishops as so pernicious that they forbid Roman Catholic teachers to join it under penalty of incurring the Divine wrath. . . . The Secretary of State Herr Zorn von Bulach energetically protested . . . the Stadthalter himself Count Wedel contend(s) that the joining of the German Teachers Union is neither a religious nor an ecclesiastical matter and therefore outside the province of the Bishops."

that there was a place vacant at Bay View near Providence but when I wrote Bishop Harkins[30] about it, I got a very discouraging answer and the Cenacle Convent in Newport seems impossible. We shall have him come back to us if he has no other place in October. If Your Grace would kindly bear it in mind, we should be very grateful. I think Father Lachance could be very useful as a chaplain. He still has strength enough to work and is very quiet and unassuming.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

c/o Morgan Harjes & Co., Paris
Boston, May 2nd, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

The enclosed article has been sent to me twice, once (and I enclose it) from a hater of "Popery," and also from a Catholic friend who is very indignant about it as it comes from a *respectable* Episcopalian paper.[31]

As to the fling at me—of course everything I do or do not do (and I did not call myself "Nutton") is picked up and flung at me by the Canaille! and of course I care not a fig about it. It only hurts the creatures who are full of envy, hatred and malice. The war is on, however—and I think the Church will win against Roosevelt.[32]

[30] The enclosed letter from Bishop Matthew F. Harkins of Providence stated that he had no post vacant, as most of his institutions were served by parish clergy. "I trust that I shall soon be able to supply the House of the Good Shepherd with a resident chaplain. But at present there is no place for him to reside and perhaps the work would be rather difficult for the good Father to whom you have been so kind" (AAB, Harkins to Mrs. Storer, Providence, April 20, 1910).

[31] *The Living Church*, April 30, 1910.

[32] Mrs. Storer was referring to the widely publicized incident of Theodore Roosevelt, arriving at Naples from his hunting trip in Africa, first requesting, then cancelling, an audience with Pius X. (Cf. *The Outlook*, April 3 and 16, 1910.) John Callan O'Loughlin, erstwhile war correspondent and publisher of the *Army and Navy Journal*, conducted the interviews with the papal Secretary of State, Cardinal Merry Del Val, and Lawrence F. Abbott broadcast them by cable from Naples while Roosevelt paid a visit to his sister-in-law, Edith Tyler Carow, at her villa in Porto Maurizio. Archbishop O'Connell had had direct news of the incident (AAB, Merry Del Val to O'Connell, Rome, April 24, 1910): "At first, of course, there was a staggering impression even

I send you also an anonymous letter which amused me and Father Benson. I also wish you would publish it—as a specimen of ex-papist manners. The finest part of the humor is calling Archbishop Ireland a "Jesuit."[33] I wish you could get up an "anti-Roosevelt" League here which would be composed of Catholics and non-Catholics. I think Moorfield Storey[34] and Curtis Guild[35] would be *glad* to help with the latter. We leave tomorrow at 1 P. M. and sail on Wednesday at 2 on the *Adriatic*.[36]

Believe me Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

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here around me. The incomplete, or even false, news given out in the first few hours upset many people and I could not speak until I knew that the cables had worked from Naples.

"Then I made my statement without acrimony or any ill-feeling, perfectly confident that I had done my duty and that if I could get the facts put before honest public opinion in America, Americans would end with a verdict in favor of the Holy See. In a very few days the most prominent Cardinals, etc., came to congratulate me, and the events of Mr. R's visit so entirely justified the Holy Father's attitude that most people thought I had foreseen them all. As a matter of fact, I did not expect them to come so quickly."

[33] The sheet enclosed, scrawled in ink, reads: "Dear Maria, You certainly are a joke. In your misguided zeal as a pervert to Papacy, you have not contented yourself with trying to win a red bonnet for that dirty old arch-Jesuit John Ireland, but you must *import* a cheap little second-rate novelist (presumably a thrust at Robert Hugh Benson) whose chief occupation in England is abusing that dear old church he has left. One thing is sure, the hottest corner in Hell is reserved for all *perverts* to that abomination—Popery.

"'By the way, Maria, what do you expect to get out of all this? Are you working for one of the ignorant old Italian bishop's empty titles? Would you like to be a *Papal Countess?* Who is the Jesuit who is writing your magazine articles? Those who know you say you have not the brains to write anything *worthwhile*. The writer was brought up in Popery but thanks God every day he was led into the light of a *purer* Catholicism. I was convinced many years ago that Romanism perverts history and is the biggest liar on earth. The writer has *nine* friends who have left Popery for good, and more will follow.

"Come, Maria, read history—not the garbled history of Romanism. Get Littledale's Plain Reasons and other *convincing* books and come out of the old Scarlet whore. Ex-Papist."

[34] Moorfield Storey was a prominent Boston lawyer, a fellow-member with O'Connell of the select Winters' Night Club.

[35] Curtis Guild was Governor of Massachusetts (1906-1907) and unsuccessful candidate for vice-president in 1908. He later served as American Ambassador to Russia. After his death in April, 1915, his widow became a Catholic.

[36] No reply was found in the files. Archbishop O'Connell publicly castigated O'Loughlin, the man whom Roosevelt styled "a volunteer secretary," and who

Paris, Monday, May 16th, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

We have been here for a few days and leave today for England. Our address abroad remains always c/o Morgan Harjes, Boulevard Haussemann [*sic*], Paris.

Nothing could better prove the *anti*-Catholic influence of Theodore Roosevelt than the fact that the *"Temps"* which is under "francmacon" control, is going to publish his speech at the Sorbonne (on the model government and citizen *without God*) and distribute them [*sic*] to every neutral school in France as an example for the education given in these schools where the name of God has been struck out of every book put in the hands of the pupils. I believe that something strong should be made out of this fact as an argument against Catholics supporting Mr Roosevelt—The danger of French contagion menaces our country.

Just now T. R. is going (they say) to *ride* in King Edward's funeral procession as a Colonel of Rough Riders![37] Nothing so ridiculous has ever been seen—Buffalo Bill ought to ride with him. It is a shame to make King Edward's funeral a poster to advertise T. R. but better that than the Pope and the Vatican!!

The English papers print the enclosed personal advertisement[38] to heighten the effect of the funeral appearance. It was said at home that the only functions Theodore Roosevelt did not like to attend were a funeral and a wedding; because he could not be "it." He is going to be "It" if he can at the King's funeral. Poor King Edward!

Mr. Storer joins me in kindest regards.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

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conducted the negotiations with Merry Del Val for the audience. "Mr. Roosevelt turns down what Catholics consider one of the highest privileges. . . . Let me give you out of this same incident an example . . . of the disloyalty of one who calls himself a Catholic. . . . Mr. John Callan O'Loughlin—to my mind one of the chief causes of Mr. Roosevelt's unhappy blunder. . . . Mr. O'Loughlin has proved himself neither a good Catholic nor a good friend of Mr. Roosevelt" (*Sermons and Addresses*, III, 381-387, delivered at Lowell, Massachusetts, May 7, 1910).

[37] King Edward VII (1841-1910) died on May 6; the state funeral was held on May 20. Theodore Roosevelt attended by appointment as special ambassador for President Taft, although he was not garbed as a colonel of the Rough Riders.

[38] The advertisement was not found in the file, AAB.

Calverley Hotel
Tunbridge Wells
May 25th, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop,

My son-in-law, the Marquis [Pierre] de Chambrun and I have written the enclosed *warning*. Would it be possible to have it printed as a leaflet for distribution among the Catholic Federations—or in some other way that would reach Catholic societies all over the country?

I don't know how such literature is *diffused*. We got the PILOT of May 7th[39] a few days ago and were so delighted with your address and the editorials that my son-in-law suggested an active continuance of the campaign.[40] He looks upon it from a Catholic point-of-view and he thinks that Mr. Roosevelt will really try to make strife and division among the Catholics at home which would be most deplorable. Nothing would please so much the enemies of the Church. It is a question really of religion and not of politics. I was disgusted to see that last Saturday's Tablet quotes an article by old Stead[41] for whom nobody has any respect, which intimates that Cardinal Merry Del Val had mismanaged the matter of T. R.'s audience. Please use the enclosed[42] in any way you may wish but of course without our names appearing.

[39] *The Pilot* was bought on October 3, 1908, as the official weekly organ of the Archdiocese of Boston by Archbishop O'Connell. Mrs. Storer was referring to O'Connell's address on loyalty, before the Catholic Federation at Lowell on May 7, previously cited.

[40] "After his return to America on June 18, 1910, Theodore Roosevelt began an active campaign against the Vatican. . . . He sent ahead a young man (a *soi-disant* Catholic whom he had picked up in Rome) named Laughlin, whose object was to become a member of the Federation of Catholic Societies. . . . So much publicity ensued, that Archbishop O'Connell of Boston denounced the plot at a meeting of the Federation in Massachusetts, and prevented the election of Laughlin as a member." Storer, *In Memoriam: Bellamy Storer*, pp. 119-120.

[41] William T. Stead (1849-1912), English journalist, son of a Congregational minister and greatly interested in spiritualism and psychical research. He died in the sinking of the *Titanic* on April 15, 1912.

[42] O'Connell evidently wished to make no use of the attached seventeen-page diatribe against Roosevelt, handwritten but not in the writing of Maria or Bellamy Storer.

We hope that Your Grace is very well. Mr. Storer joins me in kindest regards.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

Grand Hotel Klinger
Marienbad
14 June, 1910

Reverend and dear Archbishop,

To learn from the papers that you are to preach the Opening Sermon at Montreal[43] was a great interest and pleasure to us. I am overjoyed that you are to do this, as if I may say so confidentially, to some the inviting Monseigneur of Westminster[44] to accept this honor, which was fully expected I hear, would have been a public attempt to approve the attitude of "The Tablet" regarding the Cardinal Secretary of State. This has been, as you are doubtless informed, most hostile and critical as the Tablet would have persuaded its readers that the whole fault of the Vatican-Roosevelt incident was His Eminence's want of tact and Spanish narrowness of view. I am rather of the opinion that the Tablet does not convey the real sentiment of the English clergy and Church as a whole. A talk with Bishop Vaughan[45] leads me to say this. By the way, the Bishop was full of most interested and friendly enquiries of yourself and your

[43] An International Eucharistic Congress was held at Montreal, Canada, September 6-11, 1910. The Reverend James Anthony Walsh, director of the Boston branch of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, there met the Reverend Thomas Frederick Price of North Carolina, a former classmate of Archbishop O'Connell at St. Charles College, Maryland. From the meeting stemmed the foundation of Maryknoll, the Catholic foreign missionary society, for which O'Connell later released Father Walsh. Cf. Raymond A. Lane, *The Early Days of Maryknoll* (New York, 1951), p. 54. ". . . the hour struck unmistakably when Father Price called on Father Walsh on that memorable day of the Mass at Fletcher Field." O'Connell was the preacher at Fletcher Field.

[44] Francis Cardinal Bourne (1861-1935) succeeded as Archbishop of Westminster upon the death of Cardinal Vaughan in 1903. He was named a cardinal in 1911.

[45] John Stephen Vaughan (1853-1925), brother of the cardinal; consecrated a bishop in 1909; from 1912 was rector of St. Bede's College, Manchester, England.

great successes in Boston and desired me to convey his very kindest respects and regards.

The news of your presence and prominence at Montreal drove us to write immediately to England to see if quarters could be obtained on the steamers leaving about the first of September direct for Montreal. If it is possible to manage it, we would like to come back that way and be present at the Congress. That might enable us to pay a visit to Courtfield in Herefordshire where Col. Vaughan[46], the Cardinal's brother, lives; and for which we have not been able to accept the invitation, thinking we should have to return from France to New York.

The waters and air of this most delightful of spas are doing Mrs. Storer a world of good. She was really rather worn out with the excitement of four weeks of Fr. Benson's[47] most attractive and most overstimulating society; and the fatigue of travel. On Corpus Christi, at the convent school where a little granddaughter is, in Sussex, she took her first Communion. We asked Father Herbert Vaughan[48] to come down and say the Mass which, at a good deal of inconvenience, he did. To me, he is a most quieting and encouraging—I might say restful and calming—personality. But I fear he is working too hard and may break down. We are going to take him and his sister, D. V., to Oberammergau the first of August. We hope Your Grace has kept that health and rested feeling and look you had when we saw you last; and that your summer by the sea will be everything you could wish. If over here I could in any way serve you it would give me profound pleasure. Our address will always be in care of Messrs. Morgan Harjes & Co., Paris. I make my apologies for one of the worst pens and vilest sorts of ink I have met.

[46] Colonel Frank Vaughan, "the brother I liked best of all was the only one who had not entered the Priesthood, Colonel Frank Vaughan, one of the most genial and witty men I have ever known. He was the father of the Reverend Herbert Vaughan, the great missionary in England as well as the present Bishop of Menevia in Wales, Most Reverend Francis J. Vaughan." O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, p. 193.

[47] Robert Hugh Benson (1871-1914), fourth son of an Archbishop of Canterbury; became a Catholic in 1903; ordained at Rome, 1904; made a monsignor in 1911. He had been a guest of the Bellamy Storers in Boston in April, 1910.

[48] Herbert M. Vaughan (1869-1936), nephew of Cardinal Vaughan; ordained 1900. He studied Paulist mission methods in the United States in 1910; returned to England to organize the Catholic Missionary Society of which he was superior until ill health forced his retirement in 1935.

I am not sure that I had the opportunity to tell Your Grace of the kindness and thoughtful courtesy of Mgr. Splaine[49] toward us and our guest while Father Benson was with us. We feel greatly indebted to him and to the kindness of Yourself in that respect. Mrs. Storer begs to join me in respectful but kindest regards.

With respect and in appreciative friendship, I am, dear Archbishop

Always yours

Bellamy Storer[50]

* * * * *

56 Fenway, Boston

November 26th, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop,

I have consented to be sponsor by proxy for the conditional baptism of Mr. Carlton Strong (and his wife), former President of the American Church Union Society. I send Your Grace a letter received yesterday from Mr. Strong because I think it will interest you to see what is today the essential motive which impels the outside *believer* to seek the grace of conversion. May I ask you to return the letter as I should like to keep it. I must be frank in acknowledging

[49] Michael J. Splaine (1875-1951), a student at the North American College, Rome, 1897-1901, under O'Connell as rector; friend closely associated with O'Connell from 1906 on; pastor of St. Mary of the Assumption Church, Brookline, at the time of his death.

[50] The Storers apparently did not attend the Eucharistic Congress at Montreal. John E. Sexton, *Cardinal O'Connell: A Biographical Sketch* (Boston, 1926), pp. 121-122. ". . . that first open-air ceremony of the Congress when 75,000 people drawn from every nation assembled at Fletcher's field at the foot of the mountain to assist at the solemn Pontifical Mass. The glorious sunshine made up for the previous day's bad weather. . . . Every word of Archbishop O'Connell's sermon was heard, even far out beyond the car tracks . . . such a sermon had hardly ever been given by the brilliant and forceful Archbishop as that day's sermon. The magnificent presence was there as always; the clear and beautiful voice was never so finely handled; the mastery of the subject was patent; but one felt that the usual sense of leadership was absent. If one can imagine a sublime meditation in which the preacher was praying, reflecting, adoring, rather than preaching, one will understand. That day Archbishop O'Connell did just that, became himself the very soul of the magnificent assembly, offering its great act of homage to the Christ of our altars. For three-quarters of an hour he spoke, and all the time not a murmur or a whisper in all that throng." The text of O'Connell's sermon is in *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 341-351.

some of my mistakes—I mean on the *human* side. I was converted spiritually (as everyone is) by the want of my soul "to be near God"—to have all the light possible—and to try to live a life worthy of my faith. The sacraments drew me—and I saw that nowhere but in the Catholic Church could I find the Lord as a Living Presence.

At that time (18 years ago) the question of *authority* was not a burning one. Everybody loved the enlightenment and the benevolence of Leo XIII—and hoped that the Vatican would always be saying "Come" and never say "Depart."[51] The awful spirit of mental activity—the kind that is diabolical and seeks to destroy Divine revelation and dependence on God—had not yet broken loose—as it did later, even inside the fold—and as it has since run riot through the Protestant world.

The Holy Father Pius the Tenth's inflexible determination to withstand this force of evil and to root it out where he is the supreme authority—is today bringing in an entirely fresh harvest. Our new converts from the High Church Party here and in England are coming into a haven of refuge. They are seeking the *protection of authority*. Instead of the Sovereign Pontiff being almost a "quantité negligeable," as the Gallicans and other nationalistic Catholics seemed some years ago inclined to think, he has become the *conspicuous* head and front of Christendom and the converts of recent days are rushing to his banner because they know that without the Lord's vice-gerent on earth, faith must fail and die and Christendom fall to ruin!

This is the reason why I want to work with all my soul to help these outside sheep. It is because I know that they are recruits for the *army* of Christ. The Church militant is what our century needs[52]—for the spread and growth of the army of anti-Christ is threatening the whole world. It marches on both sides of the Atlantic under various guises but bound together by the power of a universal freemasonry.

[51] Mrs. Storer was referring to the modernist heresy and the 1907 decree of Pius X, *Lamentabili* and the encyclical *Pascendi Dominici gregis*.

[52] Félix Klein, *Americanism: A Phantom Heresy* (Aquin, Kansas, 1951), p. xx. Maria Storer's great friend, Archbishop Ireland, had written in 1898, in his introduction to Walter Elliott's *Life of Father Hecker*: "The authority of the Church and her Supreme Head is beyond danger of being denied or obscured, and each Christian soldier may take to the field, obeying the breathings of the spirit of truth and piety within him, feeling that what he may do he should do." Both the Storers attributed their conversions to the agency of Archbishop Ireland. New York *Times*, May 4, 1932.

I do not know when Your Grace could have time to receive us—and so I am writing—as perhaps a letter will take less space than a conversation. Mr. Storer and I wish to form a small "League of Welcome" for those non-Catholics who believe with all their hearts in the Divinity of Our Lord, those whose conversion will mean especially "submission" to the Holy Father—for today it is the Vatican that is besieged.

The League would make it known that the lay members hold themselves ready to help and welcome anyone who writes to a member asking information or enlightenment. The lay members will correspond with these applicants and send them books and sermons or papers suited to their individual needs and whenever these persons seem earnestly to desire further help, the lay members will indicate a priest who will take charge of their theological instruction. People can be "sifted" in this way and only the real grain brought to the notice of those priests who would be members (consultors) so that their [time] would not be intruded on unnecessarily. I have convert friends who say that for a long time they were in torment holding aloof because they "did not know where to go."[53]

I want to consult Your Grace as to my idea before going any further and if you approve I shall hope for your protection. If we can reach all English-speaking non-Catholics thus with personal sympathy and aid we might work also in England.

Asking pardon for such a long letter which seems almost necessary in order to make my meaning clear,

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

November 28, 1910

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I have received your letter of November 28th with the enclosed letter of Mr. Strong. I find Mr. Stong's [*sic*] letter very beautiful

[53] Carlton Strong, a prominent Pittsburgh architect and member of the Anglo-Roman Union founded in 1908 by the Episcopal clergyman, the Reverend Lewis T. Wattson (Father Paul of Graymoor), "had followed Father Paul into the Church" [David Gannon, *Father Paul of Graymoor* (New York, 1951), p. 134]. Father Paul and his community of the Society of the Atonement were corporately received into the Catholic Church on October 30, 1909. Strong, who

and enlightening. It only proves that the Holy Spirit is constantly inspiring the Vicar of Christ to meet spiritual needs with the exact spiritual remedies according to the time and the circumstance. I shall be only too happy to be of service in forming the League of Welcome and I shall try either to go to you or to ask you to come to me within a few days.

With constant best wishes, I remain

Yours very sincerely
W. H. O'Connell
Abp. Boston

* * * * *

56 Fenway, Boston
Tuesday, Nov. 29th, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

I thank Your Grace for the most kind and encouraging letter. You have already (unknowing and indirectly) begun the work of the League! We received from Dr. Harrington the book "Back to Holy Church" which you said he was to "read and pass on." I got some copies of it yesterday and sent one to Mr. Strong to "pass on" to a friend in New York about whom he wrote me—a High Church Episcopalian who is *seeking*—I feel sure from what Mr. Strong says and from a copy of a letter which he sent me in confidence without mentioning his friend's name, that this book will especially meet his wants. So *you* will sow the seed for our harvest!

Most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

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56 Fenway
November 29th (1910)

Most Reverend Archbishop

Dr. Maggiorani of Rome is here trying to spread his treatment for tuberculosis. He has been given some patients at the Good Samaritan

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had been president of the Anglo-Roman Union prior to his conversion, aided on the plans for the chapel at Graymoor. With the conversion of many members, the Anglo-Roman Union ceased to function. Mrs. Storer's proposed League of Welcome did not become a reality.

Hospital for trial and will be here some little time. His daughter is married since a year to a young Professor of mediaeval literature; I think an Episcopalian. I heard of her a year ago as an Italian Catholic stranger wishing to know where to go for Mass and Confessions—so I called upon her last January and took her to Boston College where I found for her a spiritual director. She and her husband are very nice and intelligent people. Mr. X——— called here some days ago to ask if I thought that the Dr. Maggiorani might have the honor to be received by Your Grace before he returns to Rome. I said that I would write and enquire and let them know. Dr. Maggiorani has received a letter from Cardinal Cassetta a few weeks ago which shows the Cardinal's interest in the work and Mr. X——— hoped might prove an introduction. He says also that one of the doctor's patients in Rome was a friend of the Pope's almoner and that when the patient was cured, Mgr. Bresson wrote to Dr. Maggiorani a letter imparting the special benediction of His Holiness upon the work.

It seems a relief to hear that there is a good *Catholic* stranger here, after the Garibaldi demonstrations at the Circolo Italiano two weeks ago. The X——'s are living at ————; if Your Grace would prefer sending an answer through me, I will convey it. If you could let them call upon you, it would be a great pleasure to them and might be a help towards bringing Professor X——— nearer. He is High Church.

Believe me most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

December 1, 1910

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I have received your letter of November 29th and I assure you that I should be happy to receive Dr. Maggiorani and his two friends on any Monday or Wednesday morning between the hours of ten and twelve that he may wish to call.[54]

I am glad that you enjoyed the book "Back to Holy Church." I am sure it will do a great deal of good.

[54] This was a polite rebuff; the archbishop, since coming to Boston, had appointed these two mornings weekly for visitors without scheduled engagements.

With constant best wishes to yourself and Mr. Storer and my blessing upon you both, I am

Yours very sincerely
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

[No date]
Sunday Evening

Most Reverend Archbishop

We were speaking today about the midnight masses and I write to ask if there is any objection to having Father Lachance celebrate them in our chapel. Of course we should *also* go to the High Mass at the Cathedral.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

December 19, 1910

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I have received your letter of the 18th inst. and I am willing to grant you the permission you ask but I must add the injunction that you guard it sacredly as I do not want it known. I prefer that you invite no one on the occasion and at any rate, it is absolutely necessary for everyone invited to obtain particular permission from me.

This is a matter of strict discipline which must be observed.

Very sincerely yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

December 20, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

In reply to your note received this morning, I beg to say that the midnight mass will not take place in our chapel on Christmas morning.

As I told Your Grace[55], I had no idea that there was any restriction upon the celebration of the midnight mass in any private chapel

[55] Obviously—perhaps when she introduced Dr. Maggiorani—the archbishop had spoken to Mrs. Storer about her unauthorized private chapel. Evidently she

or it certainly would not have been said by Father Lachance last Christmas.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

56 Fenway
Wednesday, December 21st, 1910

Most Reverend Archbishop

I spoke to Your Grace some weeks ago about Father Vincent Naish, S.J.[56] who was here last April during your absence from Boston and I said that Father Naish meant to lecture on India with stereoptican views at the Boston College; but the arrangements could not be made—and that Mrs. Gardner had heard of it and wished to have one or more lectures by Father Naish at Fenway Court! I wrote to Father Naish, asking if he were coming to Boston this winter and he answered from Nova Scotia that he was on a mission up there.

When I told Mrs. Gardner, she was not satisfied and got Father Gasson's[57] address and said she would go to *him!* This was some time ago. Mrs. Gardner has just telephoned that Father Gasson will do all he can to have Father Naish come here—provided Your Grace gives the necessary permission and she asks me to make the request of you.

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was disappointed at not being able to invite friends like Mrs. Jack Gardner. A gesture to restore her self esteem was made the next day.

[56] Vincent Naish, S.J. (1852-1913), entered Jesuit novitiate at Dublin, Ireland, 1871; ordained 1888; 1891-1904, on the missions in India; 1904-1908, in England; 1909-1913, giving missions in Canada.

[57] Thomas I. Gasson, S.J., had been president of Boston College since 1907. An orphan immigrant from England at thirteen, he became a Catholic and entered the Jesuits in 1875. On him fell the burden of initiating the new campus of Boston College, for which Archbishop O'Connell, a graduate of the college in 1881, had persuaded him to choose the hilltop site in Chestnut Hill, across Commonwealth Avenue from St. John's Seminary where O'Connell planned his own future residence. [David R. Dunigan, S.J., *A History of Boston College* (Milwaukee, 1947), pp. 180-195.] Father Gasson's address, in 1910, was still 761 Harrison Avenue, Boston, the rectory of the Church of the Immaculate Conception. Construction of the first unit on the new campus, the Tower Building, had been halted for lack of funds that winter.

She is a most energetic woman—and of course any such lecture or lectures by a Jesuit priest at Fenway Court will bring non-Catholics and rouse an interest in the Church. If you think well of it, may I ask Your Grace to give Father Gasson the permission?

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

December 22, 1910

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I have received your note of December 21st and I assure you it is with great pleasure that I grant permission for the Rev. Vincent Naish, S.J, to come and lecture in Fenway Court. Assuring you and Mr. Storer of my constant best wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

56 Fenway
Easter Eve, 1911

Most Reverend Archbishop

Will you kindly accept as an Easter souvenir, this tray which I hope may be useful (if not ornamental)? Mr. Storer and I also offer to Your Grace our very best wishes for a happy Easter.

Most respectfully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

P.S. May I ask you to read this article of mine and tell me what you think about the Anglican situation?

* * * * *

April 17, 1911

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

Many thanks for your beautiful gift which is indeed both ornamental and useful. Kindly convey to Mr. Storer my cordial appreciation of

his Easter greetings. I wish you both the blessings of the season in return.

Very sincerely yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp of Boston

* * * * *

May 8, 1911

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I wish to convey to you my cordial thanks for the valuable interest you have shown in the Sunday School for the children of the North End and to assure you of my appreciation of your generous gift of the altar and the other articles used at the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass. No better evidence, were any required, could be given of your sincere charity towards God's little ones and I trust the children's prayers may bring you many graces in return for your generosity.[58]

Assuring you and Mr. Storer of my continued good wishes, I remain

Very sincerely yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

56 Fenway
Friday, 12 May [1911]

Reverend and dear Father O'Connell

As I cannot communicate with you by telephone—will you be kind enough to ask His Grace if Mrs. Storer and myself could call on him some evening. I suggest Saturday (tomorrow) but almost any evening thereafter we could be free to do so. It would be a deep

[58] The altar donated by Mrs. Storer seems to have been in the basement of St. Stephen's Church, Hanover Street, Boston. Built by Bulfinch in 1804 as "the new North" (Congregational) Church, as the Puritans moved away and the tide of Irish immigration replaced them, it was bought in 1862 by the future Archbishop John J. Williams. In the 1880's Italian newcomers displaced the Irish in the North End, preferring their own language churches. Boston Brahmins, regarding the old church as an historic landmark, raised funds on a non-sectarian basis to restore the edifice. The work was finally completed in 1925.

regret to us if we did not have this privilege before the archbishop's departure.[59]

Respectfully and gratefully yours
Bellamy Storer

Rev. James P. E. O'Connell[60]

* * * * *

56 Fenway
Sunday, May 14th

Most Reverend Archbishop

May I offer you a few of my little poems? Wilfrid Ward[61] suggests my publishing a small book of such verses about the Church. If I do, may I dedicate it to you? I was so glad to be able to tell you last night about Y———. I hope very much for an immediate decision. It was suggested that perhaps an additional testimony be got from Mrs. Z——— as to why the younger children were baptized and the elder not but it would be most unwise to approach that lady again. She was frightened at the bare idea of admitting the facts because she (like many Protestants) thought a marriage *annulled* meant that her daughter's children would be declared illegitimate by the Catholic authorities in the Church. It is an extremely interesting case in its possibilities[62] of helping many souls and I pray that it may be settled at once. The evidence is all handed in and Mr. Storer (as

[59] Sexton, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128. On May 7 the archbishop had dedicated St. Margaret's Hospital; May 11, erected new parishes in Somerville and Framingham; May 14, he dedicated the Passionist Monastery in Brighton; and May 16-17 he would preside at the spring conference of the clergy in the cathedral. On this occasion he announced completion of his project to replace the Sulpician Fathers, who had staffed St. John's Seminary since 1884, with diocesan clergy. He was also preparing to sail for the eucharistic congress at Madrid; nevertheless, Bellamy's letter bears the pencilled notation: "Ans. Sat. eve, 13."

[60] The Reverend James P. E. O'Connell was a nephew of Archbishop O'Connell and chancellor of the archdiocese.

[61] Wilfrid Ward (1856-1916), the biographer of Cardinals Wiseman and Newman.

[62] The "possibility" of Mrs. Storer giving "instructions" to the bridegroom on his honeymoon did not materialize. The archbishop did not accept Mr. Storer's "verdict," leaving the matter to the matrimonial court. The marriage did not take place until the following year.

a lawyer) considers the case amply proven. If Y——— could be married in June, he and his wife would sail on our ship the 27th and that would give us a chance to help him to understand the faith of the Church.

Believe me most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

May 15, 1911

Dear Mrs. Storer,

I have received your note of May 14th and I quite concur in Mr. Ward's suggestion that you publish your verses and prose. I am sure they will do a great deal of good.

With constant best wishes to yourself and Mr. Storer and my blessing on both of you, I remain

Very sincerely yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp Boston

* * * * *

The Wolcott
31st Street by 5th Avenue
New York
30, October

Most Reverend and dear Archbishop
and revered Friend,

We landed at 5 P. M. today and read in the evening papers news which makes our homecoming more than ever a joy to us.[63] To congratulate Your Grace on the honor so well merited is nothing—except to assure you of my keen pleasure and satisfaction. But for the influence Yr. Grace's elevation must have for the good of the

[63] Announcement of an impending consistory was made at Rome on Saturday, October 28, 1911. On the following Monday O'Connell received a cable from Cardinal Merry Del Val confirming his elevation to the cardinalate. Archbishop Farley of New York and the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Falconio, were also named. The consistory was held at Rome on November 26, 1911. O'Connell's pastoral letter on it was published on November 1, 1911. Cf. *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 430-432.

Church, not only in your Great Diocese, but throughout America, I am thankful and grateful with a profound satisfaction. I scrawl out this short note at once to add my and my wife's names to the long list of those deeply gratified by this action in your behalf by the Holy Father. I hope and pray that I may be able to come to Boston if the Biretta will be given Your Grace in this country. In great haste and in the greatest respect and regard, I am Yr. Grace's always

Most faithfully
Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

Most Reverend Archbishop

May I, too, say a word to express the joy we feel? I thank God that the dream of my whole life as a Catholic is realized—that our great nation is at last to take a leading part in the army of Christendom which alone can save the world. That you are to be a leader in the front rank in the great battle of Armageddon which really seems not in a dim future, gives me confidence and a sure hope for you have always seemed to me in the highest sense of the word, a *soldier of Christ* armed with Truth and Justice and *Courage*. And you have had trials which have proved this. May God bless you now and in the time to come, and may He make Rome the great centre where everyone of the nations of the earth may have a foothold upon the foundation Rock of Peter. Only so can the 20th Century world be saved from atheism, anarchy and chaos.

Most respectfully and gratefully yours
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

November 2, 1911

My dear Mr. Storer:—

Your congratulations and good wishes are among those that I appreciate most of all. I sail for Rome about the 11th but I hope to see you in Boston soon. Please give my affectionate greetings to Mrs. Storer and thank her for her letter of congratulation. I feel very sorry to have lost you from Boston.[64]

Very cordially yours
W. H. O'Connell
Abp of Boston

[64] The Storers did not return to Boston to live and there are no letters in the file for the next few months. Perhaps it rankled that they were not invited

Cincinnati
16 February, 1912

Most Reverend Eminence and dear
and beloved Friend

Not yet to have been able to come to Boston to pay our respects nor even to be one of the multitude to greet you on your return,[65] you will allow me to write our warmest greetings.

Not to be in Boston this winter in some ways is a great blow to us. The atmosphere and prevailing tone of the discussions are very different. Here the prevailing influences in civic life and tendency are as Jewish as they are Unitarian in Boston, not in old-fashioned religious belief but toward the same result—good-natured indifference rather than intolerant material existence. The Church is apart, quiescent and far from actively trying to renew the face of the earth. It is really curious to re-study after an absence of eighteen years, the signs of a preponderating racial German inheritance on a community and on the body of the Church on an interior people, living in a climate which should, outside of two months of the year, be perfectly called semi-tropical. Your Eminence will forgive my writing in this garrulous fashion, I hope; for the temptation to talk as we have done in walking is strong within me.

We are hoping possibly to go to Boston for a week or so on the urging of Mrs. Y———, the mother of the Mr. Y—— for whose marriage to a Catholic girl I did my best to smooth the canonically legal way. The family are among our oldest and staunchest friends and Mrs. Y——— is greatly desirous of the privilege of presenting the new daughter-in-law to you, as well as her son. It may be God's intention to bring about a wider work of grace in that family. The tone of the letter I see gives me hope to think it. May I in this way

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to be among the twenty-two persons who sailed with the cardinal-elect for Rome; more likely they resented having had no hint to delay sailing from Europe in October. There is no acknowledgment in the file that they received one of the cardinal's medals, although Mrs. Jack Gardner wrote him, "I am so grateful to your Grace for the wonderful medal—it came to me today and rejoiced my heart. I cannot easily thank you enough for sending it to me. With great anticipations for Thanksgiving Day, I am Most gratefully yours, Isabella S. Gardner." (AAB, dated Fenway Court, November 17, no year.)

[65] Cardinal O'Connell lingered in Rome to take possession of his titular Church of San Clemente and for a few weeks' rest. He landed in Boston on January 31, 1912, to be welcomed by a throng estimated at over 100,000 persons who had come out despite a driving snowstorm.

present Mrs. Y——— to Your Eminence, unless I ask to do so in person in case we do make the visit I spoke of to Boston? Mrs. Storer begs me to join her most respectful and warmest best wishes.

Begging that a thought of us—absent friends and strongest well-wishers—may be in your mind and intentions, I remain

Your Eminence's faithful and respectful friend[66]
Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

Cincinnati
February 17th, 1912

Your Eminence:

I had not expected to trouble you with a letter about *ourselves* but I have just read in this morning's paper that the President will attend the St. Patrick's Day banquet in Boston on March 16th and I write of this in connection with something that happened a few days ago.

We have seen a good deal of the old friends who are still living here and they love Bellamy dearly. Judge Warrington of the Supreme Court circuit said to me at a dinner last week, "*Now* is the time for Taft to make Bellamy an Ambassador as an answer to the outrage of Theodore Roosevelt and to justify Bellamy before the world."[67] I told him I did not believe that Bellamy would ever again be willing to enter public life. "No matter," said Judge Warrington, "Let it be offered at any rate, even if he refuses as was done to President Charles Eliot of Harvard."[68] At a dinner last Saturday, Judge Warrington spoke of this again, this time to Bellamy and several others.

[66] Only a fragment of the cardinal's reply remains in the file, dated February 19, 1912. It mentions, without identifying them, the presentation to him of a gold casket containing $25,000 by twenty-five prominent Boston non-Catholics on February 16, 1912. The money was applied to work on the subterranean drain built by the cardinal to make accessible again the ancient basilica and Mithraic shrine under San Clemente at Rome. Bellamy Storer was evidently not a contributor.

[67] Larz Anderson, nephew of Mrs. Storer, had been appointed American Minister to Belgium by Taft in August, 1911, although Bellamy Storer had previously held the post.

[68] Charles W. Eliot (1834-1926), President of Harvard University, 1869-1909; president emeritus to his death. On his retirement Taft offered him the post of Ambassador to Great Britain which he declined. In 1912 Eliot supported Wilson who offered him the same post in 1913, but he again declined.

Now it occurs to me that while I know the President is very fond of Bellamy, he cannot let his personal feeling alone influence him in this matter—and if this were confined to a request from *Cincinnati* (which he is sure of, politically speaking) it would be unimportant. I write therefore to ask Your Eminence if it would be possible for you to make this request of the President as a matter of your own most kind friendship and as something which might gratify the Catholics of *Boston* where Bellamy has lived and worked. This banquet would afford an opportunity. Of course Bellamy does not know that I write this for there is nothing on earth that he loves less than himself and nothing I love more!

How would it strike Your Eminence to have Bellamy as an invited guest at this banquet? I think he could go to Boston for a week at that time. He has been writing a letter to present to you Mrs. Y———, a splendid woman and I believe that she would become a Catholic as well as her son, Y——— (whose first marriage was declared null and who married a Catholic girl last summer) could they come under the influence of Your Eminence.

Most respectfully, Your Child in Christ
Maria Longworth Storer

P.S. If Berlin or Vienna should fall vacant, those are the most fitting appointments.

* * * * *

Feb. 19, 1912

My dear Mrs. Storer:—

I trust it may be possible to find an opportunity to carry out your suggestion. Nothing would give me more pleasure. We shall see. I hope you come back and never go away again.[69]

Faithfully
W. Card. O'Connell

[69] O'Connell, *Sermons and Addresses*, IV, 75-77. At the banquet the cardinal responded to President Taft's toast "Civil and Religious Liberty." The banquet made headlines because Governor Eugene Noble Foss, a Democrat and non-Catholic, cancelled his acceptance on learning that the committee, by protocol, had ranked the Prince of the Church second after the President of the United States and the Governor of the Commonwealth third. Bellamy Storer was not present; nor did he ever receive a diplomatic appointment from Taft.

The Wolcott, New York
May 27th, 1912.

Your Eminence

We sail tomorrow on the Rotterdam and send our best wishes for a happy summer and the hope that perhaps we may meet at the Eucharistic Congress in Vienna next September. We expect to return in October and one wonders what may happen to the country meantime. If the President shall be defeated for renomination then, indeed, must the country be *swept clean* by a good Democratic candidate. I have tried to express what seems to me to be the only Catholic point-of-view in a letter to the Evening Post (which I enclose). Bellamy joins me in kindest regards.[70]

Most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

Vienna
September 16th, 1912

Your Eminence

It is needless to say how much we missed you at the Congress. Cardinal Nagl[70a] in spite of the strong resemblance, could not fill your place and we regretted very much that America was not represented. Cardinal Bourne was here. The ceremonies were wonderful and the procession grandiose but alas! it rained hard the entire week and yesterday the out-of-door Mass had to be abandoned. It was a great disappointment to the multitude. We were at a window in the Habsbourg Palace where we had a good view of the procession and should have been able to see the altar well, which was atop of

[70] Theodore Roosevelt, visiting in Boston in February, 1912, had thrown his hat into the ring and was ardently engaged in the Bull Moose campaign that split the Republican Party and elected Woodrow Wilson. A secretary's note in the file (AAB, dated April 5, 1912) indicated that the Bellamy Storers arrived on the morning of Good Friday at the Hotel Touraine, Boston, and asked appointment for a call on the cardinal. Occupational engagements of other persons never inhibited Mrs. Storer from making her own plans.

[70a] Francesco Saverio Nagl (1855-1913) had been created a cardinal in the same consistory with Cardinal O'Connell, November, 1911.

the great gate of the courtyard, arranged to hold all the prelates also and the emperor[71] and 12 Archdukes. The rain was pitiless.

I enclose an account of the Emperor's reception which was most impressive and delightful. Everybody, from His Majesty downwards, has been so glad to see us that it makes Bellamy and myself feel quite homesick for this splendidly Catholic society in the greatest Catholic country in the world. We hope to come back often for a visit. This is the first since we left. Bellamy joins me in most respectful regards to Your Eminence.

Faithfully
Maria Longworth Storer

P.S. We sail on the Rotterdam October 5th, going straight to Cincinnati.

* * * * *

Mrs. Bellamy Storer,
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

His Eminence the Cardinal directs me to acknowledge receipt of your letter from Vienna and to say that he was most interested in hearing about the Congress which he would have been glad to attend, had it been possible for him to do so.

His Eminence hopes to see you and Mr. Storer soon in Boston.

Very sincerely yours
C. J. Sullivan, Secretary

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L'Empery Carrieres
par Marvejols, (Lezere)
12, Septembre, 1913

Eminence and revered Friend

The above address is the country home of the [Pierre] de Chambruns where we are passing three weeks with my daughter-in-law and their children. Mrs. Storer and I have often thought and spoken of the delightful chance of meeting you at Marienbad[72] and of our

[71] Francis Joseph (1830-1916), Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary.

[72] In April of 1913 word that Pope Pius X was seriously ill may have influenced Cardinal O'Connell in his journey to Rome that spring. He did not return

appreciation of the privilege and have kept wishing for you and Mgr. Splaine the best of Nach-Kurs and of voyages back to Boston.

I have recently been advised by my friend Wilfrid Ward that he is really going to Philadelphia to lecture before the Catholic Historical Society and under its auspices. It seems that Father Bourke [*sic*][73] of the Paulists in New York is arranging other lectures for him to deliver; on, I believe, Newman, Tennyson, etc. While Ward was not exactly the literary executor of the latter, he was of the former. He grew up in the closest intimacy with the family, as with others of the most interesting personages of that Victorian time and has many personal reminiscences. Were we still in Boston—alas!—he could stay with us and I should then personally have the honor of asking to present him to your acquaintance—but there will be many others to do that for him, should he feel he needed anyone to accredit the Dublin Review to Your Eminence's notice.

You will pardon me, however, for writing to you about him. I felt a little chill and belittling criticism of Mr. Ward in certain quarters, both from what I have seen in "America" and what I have more than once heard in conversation with the Rev. Fathers of Boston College[74] and am most personally sollicitous that the person and the influence which in England are regarded as the broadest-minded, the most intellectual and highly trained of the English-speaking laity can offer to the more thoughtful and educated non-Catholics, should not appear treated coolly by our own people, especially in the atmosphere of Boston.

Before I knew that Ward had decided to go to the United States, I had written to Lawrence Lowell[75] to ask him as to the possibility

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in time to lay the cornerstone of Boston College's first building on June 15. *The Independent* (successor to *The Outlook*) for April 17, 1913, carried an unsigned editorial entitled "An American Pope?" which said that O'Connell, "youngest and most influential in Rome" of the American cardinals, was the one to watch. However, Pius X recovered and O'Connell went on for a cure at Marienbad.

[73] John J. Burke, C.S.P., editor of the Paulist monthly, the *Catholic World*.

[74] A later generation has seen Maisie Ward, daughter of Wilfrid and Josephine Ward, acclimatized in the United States as the wife of Frank J. Sheed, and both of them, publishers and authors, appreciated in the United States.

[75] Abbott Lawrence Lowell (1856-1943), President of Harvard University, 1909-1933. An ancestor established the trust fund which supports the annual lectures of the Lowell Institute in Boston.

of a Lowell Institute course and have had his answer that 1913-14 was all settled on and engaged before he, Lowell, came to Europe; but that he would be glad to consider it for 1914-15. Mr. Ward, I hope, will be allowed by Fr. Bourke to come to Boston, though I know nothing of his plans in detail.

Mrs. Storer begs Your Eminence to accept her kindest and most grateful regards. We are sailing back to New York on the 4th of October.

In all respect, Eminence, and personal regards, I am

Faithfully yours

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

Villa Wolkonsky
San Giovanni al Laterano
Rome, 13 January, 1915

Most Reverend, Cordial and
dear Friend

Your Eminence under ordinary circumstances would most justly and naturally say 'What! another letter so soon'[76] but there really are excuses for writing. Your most precious and kind letter[77] reached me last evening after dinner in the shortest space of time from the date of posting that any letter from America has taken to reach us since last July. Full of thankfulness for your kind words, we went at 7:30 this morning to S. Giovanni [78] thinking of Your Eminence and your wish, to us, sacred that we should do this with intentions for yourself and your influence and your great work for the Church.

We were before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament, Mrs. Storer at one of the benches against the high pilasters between the nave and transept, just where the steps go down from the latter to the

[76] No letters of 1914 were found in the AAB. Cardinal O'Connell was in Rome and Germany April 25-August 8, 1914; he returned to Rome on August 20, 1914, at the death of Pius X and the election of Benedict XV, although he was too late for the conclave. World War I had broken out in 1914 and Bellamy Storer was working as a volunteer at the Vatican for prisoners of war.

[77] No copy found in the file, AAB.

[78] O'Connell was ordained on June 7, 1884, and consecrated Bishop of Portland on May 19, 1901, in San Giovanni.

former. I with two Sisters of the Hospital of S. Giovanni, at the only kneeling bench in the middle of the transept, facing the altar.

These four were the only ones assisting at the Mass; but there were a score of workmen with scaffolding at work in the south aisle in front of the door out to the Cloisters. They annoyed us while waiting for the Mass and we even thought of hurrying away to S. Croce on that account, but I remembered Yr. Eminence's special devotion to S. Giovanni and we stayed. I could not help noticing and feeling out of temper with the supervising architect who was supervising in a redingote and cane, with some pomposity I thought, and too much noise and who was a slightly younger copy of the natural size of William Taft. Just as the priest was turning toward the Gospel side and the acolyte was putting the open Gospel on the altar, came a shudder of the bench I was just rising from. I thought the two little Sisters were doing something to shake the bench, when they rose rapidly and, chattering like frightened birds, fled away down the transept to the North door.

I turned to the altar—the priest and acolyte had disappeared on their own leaving the Missal open to the Gospel. The workmen, headed by William Taft, glided not noiselessly but very swiftly away—and my wife and I were alone in that enormous space before the altar of God! There was a tremendously solemn murmur as if all the mausoleums of saints and martyrs were being dragged over the floor. The five great lamps hanging before the altar of the Blessed Sacrament were swinging from side to side in long slow oscillations and I had the same sort of sudden dizziness I sometimes for a moment feel the first hour at sea. It did not need that sacristan who appeared from the nave, his little velvet braided cap on and a big feather duster in hand, saying with really simple dignity "C'e il terramoto ma e finito!" to tell us what it was. And when he with his feather duster went down on his knees and said a prayer, I stood there with my wife only thanking God that we were there together where we were.

After five minutes came back the workmen—without Wm. Taft; all the other sacristans returned to view. The flurry of talk from the sacristy as from a dove cote, dwindled into silence and the priest came back with his acolyte and resumed the Gospel. Even the two nuns ventured back and knelt again at the same bench. But the hands of the priest shook and the lamps still waved in shorter and shorter oscillations and the workmen began their noise and their disputes.

The Lord had been there all the time—which was at most five minutes—and which seemed an hour. When we came away in the motor, a great crowd of people upon the steps in front, another all scattered over the Piazza de S. Croce—police at hand in some attempt to keep them away from the facade—and there a heap of broken masses of travertine lay on the steps nearly up to the line of the portals lay [*sic*] one of the great Bernini statues of the Apostles from the roof. Then I could learn what had added so much propinquity and realism to the earthquake roar.

But, my dear Cardinal, you were in our minds through it all. Doing some errands down in the city from which I have just returned, I saw the Porto del Populo closed to travel as a large mass of stone had fallen from the facade of the center of the archway on the inside. As [*sic*] knots of people here and there were gathered, looking at cornices and fallen bricks. The newspapers will give you all the details, I saying only what I have seen. It was and is one of the most beautiful mornings imaginable.

With all respect, always Yr. Eminence's most faithfully

Bellamy Storer

* * * * *

Jan. 30, 1915

My dear Mr. Storer:—[79]

Your very interesting letter came this morning. It must surely have been a stirring moment which you describe so graphically, at Mass at S. Giovanni. I am very grateful for your good prayers and those of good Mrs. Storer in that temple which is sacred in my memory. The papers have been full of the details of the awful catastrophe at Avezzano and the other hill towns and it is truly terrible. There is some deadening, blunting in this constant [an indecipherable word] of loss of human life by the thousands in war and by upheavals. Ordinarily people would have been deeply stirred and touched by the news of the horrors at Avezzano. But accustomed has [*sic*] everybody become to the thought of immense massacres that it passed almost without comment—certainly no one signified any special sorrow. This is one of the fatalizing effects of war.

[79] A hectographed copy of a holograph letter in the cardinal's handwriting.

I see that Card. Gasquet[80] has given a reception to les H. Husard.[81] It must have been a brilliant affair. The President [Woodrow Wilson] is pushing a bill to buy the interned German ships. There is much opposition and England, of course, opposes. Mr. Gardner of Mass.[82] is trying to arouse more interest in an increase of defense and is succeeding. Mr. Elliot [*sic*] is still talking, this time defending the Rockefeller Foundation as 'the greatest beneficial act in history,' so R. must be his latest job.[83] There is great poverty owing to lack of employment. The Governor[84] has just asked me to serve on a committee of relief and I have accepted. It is bitter cold but plenty of sun [two lines blurred] please write whenever and so [*sic*] as you are inclined. Kindest regards to Mrs. Storer.

Faithfully
W. Card. O'Connell

* * * * *

October 1, 1915.

Mrs. Bellamy Storer
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Storer,

His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell directs me to convey to you his appreciation of your courtesy in sending him a copy of your book "Sir Christopher Leighton." His Eminence will be glad to read it at his earliest convenience.

Very sincerely yours
C. J. Sullivan, Secretary

[80] Francis Aidan Cardinal Gasquet (1846-1929), English Benedictine, created cardinal in 1914; president of the international commission for revision of the Vulgate; Prefect of the Vatican Archives from 1918 to his death.

[81] Not identified.

[82] Augustus P. Gardner, congressman from Massachusetts and son-in-law of United States Senator Henry Cabot Lodge; volunteered when the United States entered the war and died in service while his regiment was awaiting embarkation orders.

[83] President-emeritus Eliot of Harvard, retired 1909; President of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, 1914; author of *The Road to Peace* (Boston, 1915).

[84] David I. Walsh (1872-1946), first Irish Catholic Democrat to be elected Governor of Massachusetts (1914-1915) and United States Senator, 1918-1924, 1926-1946. Disruption of export trade brought severe unemployment to Massachusetts in 1915. Cf. Wayman, *David I. Walsh: Citizen-Patriot* (Milwaukee, 1952).

November 18, 1915

Mrs. Bellamy Storer
Hotel Touraine (Boston)

Dear Mrs. Storer,

To avoid the possibility of a mistake, I thought it well to drop a line letting you know that His Eminence the Cardinal will dedicate the chapel of the new St. Elizabeth's Hospital, Brighton, at nine o'clock next Sunday morning. I have telephoned the hospital to have seats reserved in the chapel for you and Mr. Storer. His Eminence asked me to say that he will be very pleased to see you both. The hospital is about twenty minutes ride by auto from Hotel Touraine.

Respectfully yours
C. J. Sullivan, Secretary

* * * * *

Baltimore
April 30th, 1917

My Lord Cardinal

We have come here to meet my son-in-law the Marquis de Chambrun[85] who is a member of the French Mission now in Washington.[86] Some things which cannot be written on account of the censor may be spoken and we have a clearer view of the situation of the Church in France. First of all, the French Catholics are greatly in need of help from American Catholics. All the help given to the Orphelinat des Armes was a gift to the French government. [There here follows an eloquent plea for a donation of $5,000 for an orphanage staffed by French nuns]. . . . It is work for Our Lord.

Most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

May 4th, 1917

Mrs. Bellamy Storer
Cincinnati, Ohio

Dear Mrs. Storer:—

I have received your letter of April 30th and I wish to say that the appeal made in the copy of the communication which you enclosed

[85] The Marquis Pierre de Chambrun. His younger brother, Comte Adelbert de Chambrun, married Clara, sister of Nicholas Longworth.

[86] Congress declared a state of war between the United States and Germany on April 6, 1917.

is indeed a most touching one, and I sincerely hope it will be heard. One scarcely knows which way to turn in the midst of the calamities which confront us in these times, but I wish to assure you that I will be glad to do what I can to make known the needs of the good Sisters. Meanwhile Viviani[87] represents France in America! I was very glad to see that the Marquis de Chambrun is at least a saving person.

With most cordial best wishes to you and Mr. Storer, I am

Faithfully yours

* * * * *

c/o Morgan, Harjes
Place Vendome, Paris
Royat, August 17th, 1919[88]

Your Eminence

We have been at Royat near Clermont-Ferrand for some weeks and have had the pleasure to meet often Monseigneur Touchet[89] the Bishop of Orleans who is also taking the 'cure' of baths and inhalations for which my husband has come to these famous springs. The old volcanic mountains, austere and simple, recall the days of wonderful faith in France and remind us that on the steps of this cathedral of which I sent a picture to Your Eminence, Peter the Hermit preached the first Crusade.

I told Monseigneur Touchet of Your Eminence's beautiful tribute to Jeanne d'Arc which moved us even to tears that night when you read it at the Cathedral.[90] He would like very much to have it, as he reads English. I should also be delighted to translate it into french [*sic*] if Your Eminence would kindly send two copies.

[87] René Viviani (1863-1925), French socialist and atheist. Minister of Labor, 1906; Premier of France, June-October, 1914; Minister of Justice, 1915-1917 in the Briand cabinet. The cardinal was probably thinking of Viviani's notorious speech in the Chamber of Deputies, November, 1906, on the rupture of the concordat between France and the Vatican—"We have put out the lights of heaven and they will never be lit again." Viviani headed the French mission which, with Marshal Joffre and others, came to Washington on April 24, 1917, for military liaison planning in World War I.

[88] This letter is on heavily black-bordered stationery.

[89] Arthur Stanislas Touchet (1848-1926), named Bishop of Orléans, on May 18, 1894, and created a cardinal on December 11, 1922.

[90] O'Connell, *Sermons and Addresses*, III, 252-279. "Blessed Joan of Arc, the Saint of Patriotism," delivered in the Cathedral of the Holy Cross, Boston, February 10, 1910.

How much we wish that we might see Your Eminence here at the spring on a bright morning as we did once at Marienbad, incognito.[91] We shall probably go to Rome in October.

Monseigneur Touchet spoke of the great celebration for the canonization of Jeanne d'Arc to be held in the cathedral at Orleans . . . [The last page contained a rhapsody on Jeanne d'Arc].

Most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

Royat Palace Hotel
August 26th, 1919

My Lord Cardinal

I find that the celebration of which the Bishop of Orleans spoke is not the festival at Orleans but the Canonization of Jeanne d'Arc in Rome fixed for Ascension Day next year.[92] Monseigneur Touchet has the hope to see American Catholics participate in this celebration by making an offering for the heavy expense which it entails and which poor suffering France can ill afford to defray. The idea has come to me to suggest to Your Eminence as the Chief in America of the Cause of the Irish Catholics,[93] will you not lead a movement among the Catholics of your Diocese and Irish Americans throughout our country to pay this $50,000 as their part in the elevation to the altars of the Maid of Orleans?

My husband joins me in kindest regards and hope to see Your Eminence in Rome at the Canonization.[94]

Most respectfully
Maria Longworth Storer

[91] Probably the spring or early summer of 1914.

[92] Cardinal O'Connell made his first *ad limina* visit to Rome after the war in April, 1920, remaining for the canonizations of St. Gabriel Possenti and St. Margaret Mary Alacoque on May 13; of Jeanne d'Arc, May 17; and the beatification of Blessed Oliver Plunket on May 23.

[93] Mrs. Storer was referring here to the cardinal's address in New York at Madison Square Garden, December 10, 1918, on "Ireland, One and Indivisible," a powerful plea to the Paris Peace Conference to recognize Ireland's independence. *Sermons and Addresses,* VI, 190-198.

[94] Mrs. Storer knew, whether the Bishop of Orléans did or not, that Cardinal O'Connell had recently inherited the fortune of Benjamin F. Keith, vaudeville

December 31st, 1923

Mrs. Bellamy Storer
14 Place Vendome
Paris, France

Dear Mrs. Storer,

His Eminence, Cardinal O'Connell, directs me to acknowledge receipt of a copy of the interesting volume[95] which you have published in memory of Mr. Storer and to convey to you his thanks for your kind thought of him.

Very sincerely yours
R. J. Haberlin, Secretary

* * * * *

c/o Morgan & Co.
14 Place Vendome, Paris
Brussels, Sept. 29th, 1928

Dear Cardinal O'Connell

I think every day of the loving words you spoke about my husband in Rome at the Reception where I met you.[96] They touched me profoundly and brought back memories of our happy life in Boston and of your friendship and kindness. As life goes on for me, it grows harder and harder (79 years old) but I thank the Lord that mentally and spiritually I am stronger than ever; and I feel sure of the spiritual presence of my husband to help me and of the "Soeur Therese"[97] to protect me.

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theatre magnate, as co-sharer with Harvard University in the residue. It amounted to more than two million dollars to each legatee. No reply to Mrs. Storer's letter was found in the file, AAB.

[95] Bellamy Storer died on November 12, 1922, at Paris and was buried at Marvejols, France. His widow a short time after brought out a privately printed volume, *In Memoriam: Bellamy Storer* (Boston, 1923). It included the text of many letters attributed to Theodore Roosevelt and Archbishop Ireland, both of whom had died, Ireland on September 25, 1918, and Roosevelt on January 6, 1919.

[96] O'Connell had been last in Rome in the spring of 1925 when the American ambassador, Henry P. Fletcher, gave a reception for him. "We had a delightful time in Mr. Fletcher's apartments in the Rospigliosi Palace. They were filled with interesting Americans," said the cardinal. *Sermons and Addresses,* VIII, 252.

[97] St. Thérèse of Lisieux, the Carmelite, "Little Flower," was canonized on May 17, 1925, after O'Connell's return from Rome. Mrs. Storer, perhaps, remained in Rome for the ceremony.

I am deeply interested in Lord Halifax (now 89) and his work of so many years for Reunion.[98] I venture to send Your Eminence a little brochure about Cardinal Mercier's death[99]—and all my gratitude to the dear friend of my husband, and my most respectful thanks.

Maria Longworth Storer

P.S. Never shall I forget the beautiful tribute to Jeanne d'Arc read aloud in the crypt of the Boston Cathedral. Poor little Mrs. Gardner[100] was with us; it made her cry.

* * * * *

Boston
Saturday, Oct. 13, '28

My dear Mrs. Storer

Today I received your most kind letter. I was delighted to get a word from you for I have been wondering where you are.[101] Yes, I, too, look back upon the pleasant memories of the [*sic*] that you and your family-husband, were here, edifying all about you with your firm and loyal faith and devotion.

I see now the group in the crypt of the cathedral the evening I gave the conference on Jeanne d'Arc—and it did seem as if the dear little Maid must have been there with us.

Be assured of my best wishes and poor prayers wherever you are.

Always faithfully
W. Card. O'Connell
Abp. Boston

[98] Not to be confused with the Earl of Halifax who was British Ambassador to the United States 1941-1946. Lord Halifax (1839-1934) worked for reunion of the Anglican Church with Rome and was very friendly with Cardinal Mercier of Belgium. He was, presumably, the "distinguished English Catholic gentleman, a man of wealth" whom O'Connell describes as bringing his valet and portable folding bath for a weekend at the North American College villa at Castel Gandolfo in 1899. O'Connell, *Recollections of Seventy Years*, pp. 202-204.

[99] Désiré Cardinal Mercier died on January 23, 1926.

[100] Isabella Stewart Gardner died on July 17, 1924.

[101] The approaching visit of Spanish royalty to Boston, November, 1928, would have been in the mind of O'Connell and of Mrs. Storer. She had known them well from the time Bellamy was American Minister at Madrid, 1899- 1902, and O'Connell was acquainted with them through his friendship with Cardinal Merry Del Val. On November 26, 1928, at a luncheon held in Fenway Court, home of the late Mrs. Gardner, at the table with Governor Alvan T. Fuller of

18 Rue de l'Assomption
(Passy) Paris
October 6th, 1929

Dear Cardinal O'Connell

I think so often of Your Eminence and of your friendship for my husband, and the memory of his life in Boston. I write especially today to enclose an announcement that Irwin Laughlin is named by Hoover[102] for Madrid! Can it be possible that this is Theodore Roosevelt's companion whom he brought from Rome to the United States, announcing that Laughlin was an independent Catholic—Laughlin dined in Washington and said, "We are American Catholics and we don't care a hang for the Pope of Rome." I remember well that Your Eminence prevented the election of this creature to the American Catholic Federation when they met in Massachusetts. Can no protest be made by Your Eminence against this Laughlin? It is an insult to Spain also.[103]

With most respectful regard

Gratefully always

Maria Longworth Storer

* * * * *

[Undated]

I was delighted to hear from you after a long silence.[104] I feel sure that the Laughlin named to Madrid is *not* the same person of

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Massachusetts, Don Alfonso, cousin of King Alfonso XIII of Spain, his wife, the Infanta Beatrice, sat "His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell, who was most splendid in his robes" [cf. *Larz Anderson: Letters and Journals of a Diplomat* (New York, 1940), pp. 551-552]. The Spanish royalties attended Mass unostentatiously in St. Ann's Church, Boston, the former Protestant Episcopal Church of the Messiah, bought by the cardinal and dedicated to Catholic worship on October 31, 1928. Cf. O'Connell, *Sermons and Addresses,* IV, 268-270, "Tribute to the Spanish Royal Party."

102 Herbert Hoover, President of the United States, 1929-1933.

103 Attached is a clipping of a United Press story of the naming of Irwin B. Laughlin of Pittsburgh, former Minister to Greece, to succeed Ambassador Ogden H. Hammond in Madrid.

104 Copy of O'Connell's holograph.

the Roosevelt affair.[105] In any event, the present administration would heed no protest from us. Look at Mexico. I trust you are well.

Faithfully

W. Card. Connell

[105] Mrs. Storer had confused John Callan O'Loughlin of the 1910 Roosevelt-Vatican incident.

THE BANCROFT DESPATCHES ON THE VATICAN COUNCIL AND THE *KULTURKAMPF*

By

Sister Mary Philip Trauth, S.N.D.*

In 1867 George Bancroft was one of the best qualified Americans to serve as minister to Berlin. He went to the Prussian legation with an understanding of the Teutonic mind and an affection for things German acquired during his adolescent years of study at Göttingen and Berlin. He came equipped with political acumen sharpened by years of activity in the Democratic Party; with diplomatic experience as Minister to Great Britain from 1846 to 1849; and with an international reputation for scholarship gained by the successful completion in 1886 of a ten-volume history of the United States. The Bancroft diplomatic despatches reveal this happy combination of intelligence, practical ability, and prestige. But the reports show more. They give decided evidence that the rebel who shattered Massachusetts tradition by declining to become a Puritan divine and by repudiating the Whig Party, remained ever a scion of old New England in his attitude toward his dreaded "scarlet woman of Babylon,"[1] the Catholic Church. Bancroft phraseology tells its own story, but the subtle nuances of character brought to light by irrelevant comments and isolated epithets can be appreciated perhaps only by reading the documents completely. Professor Russell B. Nye's comment on the general historical work of Bancroft applies with equal truth to his formal letters to the Department of State: "He had a thesis to prove, and he molded history to fit its pattern."[2]

The years of the Bancroft mission, 1867-1874, were highly dynamic. The aftermath of the Seven Weeks' War, the Franco-Prussian War, the fall of the temporal power of the papacy, the emergence of a new France, a new Italy, and a new Germany—all these synchronous

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[1] George Bancroft to Mrs. J. C. Bancroft Davis, Berlin, September 4, 1870, in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Life and Letters of George Bancroft* (New York, 1908), II, 240.

[2] Russell B. Nye, *George Bancroft: Brahmin Rebel* (New York, 1944), p. 309. Unless specifically stated otherwise, biographical remarks about Bancroft made in this article are derived from Nye's book.

events received due mention in the reports sent from Berlin. Unlike his colleagues in Paris and in Florence, however, Bancroft appreciated and accordingly noted the importance of such an event as the Vatican Council as well as that of the *Kulturkampf*.[3] In fact, council and *Kulturkampf* coalesced in Bancroft's mind. The purpose of this article is to demonstrate his association of the two ideas.

In a private letter of 1868 Bancroft observed that "the most marked phenomenon in Europe" was the "concentrated unity and activity of the clerical party. No band of conspirators was ever more closely welded together." The one will of the pope, he believed, ruled "the creed, the politics, the conduct of all."[4] As the Vatican Council got under way he declared himself "ready to make war on superstition and servitude of mind in all its forms" because Catholic tyranny over mind and state was "too terrible to be favoured or forgiven."[5] To the Bancroft mind the leaders in this movement of universal enslavement were the Jesuits, who presumably were striving to introduce a system which would "deny the use of reason in religion and the right of an individual to a direct dependence on God" To achieve this aim "civilization must go back; the beams of the state must decay from dry rot; and the eyes of the people must be put out."[6] In the Bancroft illusions the specter haunting Europe was Rome with her "Jesuits, and ultramontains [*sic*] and intriguers."[7]

[3] National Archives, Department of State, Prussian Despatches (hereafter referred to as PD), Vols. 15-18; and German Despatches, (hereafter referred to as GD), Vols. 1-5. These are the Bancroft reports. Investigation was made of the French Despatches, Vols. 65-68, containing the reports of Elihu Washburne. No reference to the Vatican Council was found. The Italian Despatches, Vols. 11-13, have two reports from George Perkins Marsh on the Vatican Council: Vol. 12, No. 257 (August 7, 1869); and Vol. 13, No. 276 (January 10, 1870). Marsh and Bancroft had substantially the same opinion on Vatican affairs.

[4] Bancroft to the Rev. Dr. Samuel Osgood, Berlin, February 21, 1868, in Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 203.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 204. The Vatican Council was officially opened on December 8, 1869, and adjourned on October 20, 1870. For a full treatment cf. Theodor Granderath, S.J., and Konrad Kirch, S.J., *Geschichte des vatikanischen Konzils*, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906).

[6] Bancroft to Osgood, Berlin, Christmas, 1871, in Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 262-263.

[7] Bancroft to Mrs. J. C. B. Davis, September 4, 1870, in Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 240.

On January 21, 1870, the schema *De Ecclesia Christi,* dealing in part with Church-State relationships, was distributed for consideration to the fathers in the Vatican Council. Ten days later, the American minister sent the following observation from Berlin:

> The Council at Rome attracts more and more attention. It was got up under the influence of the Jesuits and you must judge whether it is a proof of a new life in the Roman world or whether it is the last agony of papacy. Hitherto the Catholic Church has been organized with the bishops as the aristocracy. They are now asked to part with the prerogative which gave dignity to the prelacy; and a church which has thus far allowed infallible authority only to the universal council, is now, if the Jesuits succeed, to be organized under an absolute spiritual monarch.[8]

This concentration of infallible authority would make the whole Catholic priesthood as subservient as Jesuits to their general, and would very likely mean that the next pope would be a member of the Society of Jesus. Worse still, in the estimation of Bancroft, if these measures should be put into effect, the Catholic Church would "enter the field of politics in all parts of the world with greatly increased activity and with perfect unity." Further, one must not anticipate the exclusion of the United States from such a concerted system of political influence.[9]

The outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War on July 19, 1870, caused the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility on the previous day to escape a Bancroft diatribe, but not for long. Within a month he observed to the Secretary of State that the decree of infallibility might soon be followed by the loss of the temporal power of the pope.[10] And for once his prophecy rang true. On September 20, 1870, the Italian troops entered Rome and took over. The heart of Bancroft was gladdened. Now, he exulted, alluding probably to the newly-reorganized German Catholic Center Party, "the ultramontane party . . . has suffered several blows from the decree of papal infallibility and the fall of the temporal power."[11]

[8] Bancroft to Hamilton Fish (Secretary of State), PD, Vol. 16, No. 66 (January 31, 1870).

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] Bancroft to J. C. B. Davis (Assistant Secretary of State), PD, Vol. 17, No. 124 (August 15, 1870).

[11] Bancroft to Fish, PD, Vol. 17, No. 139 (September 24, 1870). The Center Party was founded in 1852, named in 1858, reorganized in opposition to fore-

The seizure of the papal territory was additional embarrassment to the Center Party, especially after the spring of 1871 when the anti-clerical Liberty Party gained a majority in the Reichstag. Bancroft noted that an informal suggestion to offer a German refuge to Pius IX had been unofficially answered to the effect that "the pope would receive in Germany the protection and hospitality which the laws award . . . but that the exercise of his functions could only take place after the enactment of a law."[12] The assembly proceeded to express itself by a vote of 243 to sixty-three against any intermeddling with foreign powers. William I corroborated the decision. He assured the Diet that his speech at the opening of the session had been rightly interpreted as a policy of non-interference.[13]

The question of the restoration with the hint of a possible international *Kulturkampf* came up again in 1872. French ultramontanes were then reported as agitating for the re-establishment of the temporal power of the pope. Bancroft believed that the dread of such a measure was forcing Italy into closer relations with Protestant Germany. In this way, "the movement which was initiated in order to divide the people and the princes of Germany only served to consolidate their union."[14]

The gravest consequences, affecting not merely the Center Party but all the people of Germany, followed from the rejection of the dogma of papal infallibility by Dr. Johann Joseph Ignaz von Döllinger and a number of other Catholic professors. Although the issue did not, as Bancroft conjectured, furnish material in Bavaria for a schism such as had not appeared in a Catholic kingdom since the time of Henry VIII of England,[15] the dismissal of the refractory priests from their teaching positions and the organization of the Old Catholic sect by some of the malcontents did give occasion to the Bismarck regime violently to assail the Catholic Church. Years later, after the anti-Catholic policy had proved a failure, Bismarck tried to explain away his share in what was by then known as the *Kulturkampf*.[16] He

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shadowed encroachment on the rights of the Church in 1870. Cf. "Zentrum," *Der grosse Herder*, XII, 1456-1460.

[12] Bancroft to Fish, PD, Vol. 18, No. 212 (April 10, 1871).

[13] *Ibid.*

[14] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 2, No. 343 (March 18, 1872).

[15] Bancroft to Fish, PD, Vol. 18, No. 212 (April 10, 1871).

[16] The term, *"Kulturkampf,"* was popularized by Rudolf Virchow, a radical Progressivist, in a speech in the Prussian Diet (January 17, 1873): "The con-

maintained that severe measures had become necessary to prevent non-German elements from using the Ministry of Public Worship as a cleaver against the newly-formed German Empire. He insinuated that, as the fomenter of the Franco-Prussian War, the Catholic Church had received only what she deserved.[17] These sentiments were echoed in the papers of the American emissary at Berlin.

On questions of German politics Bismarck and Bancroft were of one mind. Their mutual trust and cordiality are manifest in the Bancroft despatches which contain more than one minute item of news or judgment exchanged on horseback in a Berlin park or divulged amid the glitter of a court soirée.[18] It is surprising that the dean of American historians transmitted these scraps of information and opinion to Washington as statements of dogmatic certitude and finality. An anti-Catholic spirit is understandable, if not excusable, in a product of nineteenth-century New England. On the other hand, Bancroft as a member of the Ranke circle[19] might have been expected to approximate more closely the idea to tell the fact *"wie es eigentlich gewesen."*

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test has taken on the character of a great cultural struggle *(Kulturkampf)."* Quoted in William L. Langer, *An Encyclopedia of World History* (Boston, 1948), p. 688.

[17] Otto von Bismarck, *Bismarck the Man and the Statesman,* trans. A. J. Butler (New York, 1899), II, 139, 141-42, 184.

[18] Throughout the despatches there are scattered references to the Bancroft-Bismarck friendship. For specific instances cf. Howe, *op. cit.,* II, 226-227, 204-206, 250-254.

[19] Ranke and Bancroft belonged to a small circle of literary men who met about once a week in a kind of history club. The following conversation between the two men was reported by Bancroft in a letter and is quite revealing: "One day when I met him, for he [Ranke] is a great walker, . . . he gave an arch twinkle to his eyes and said 'Do you know what I say of you to my classes?' Of course I did not. 'And will you not be angry if I tell you?' And then he continued: 'I tell my hearers, that your history is the best book ever written from the democratic point of view. You are thoroughly consistent; adhere strictly to your method, carry it out in many directions but in all with fidelity, and are always true to it.' I am not certain if this is high praise; for ask yourself what books have been written from the democratic point of view?" Bancroft to Mrs. J. C. Bancroft Davis, Berlin, December 27, 1867 in Howe, *op. cit.,* II, 183. It is also recorded that when an American student presented notes of introduction from Bancroft to Mommsen and Ranke, each of these men exclaimed in turn, "He is one of us." Howe, *op. cit.,* II, 272, citing "Notes and conversations with Professor James K. Hosmer," August, 1907.

After the Church had been maligned as an enemy of civil rights because of the discharge of the teachers previously mentioned,[20] and after the Catholic section of the Prussian Ministry of Worship had been abolished as a tool of Polish Catholic interests,[21] Bancroft dutifully sent to Washington the typical explanation of the Iron Chancellor which stated: "Prince Bismarck does not intend to surrender the power of the Crown to the Ultramontane clergy; but he cannot estimate beforehand the strength of the blow it may become necessary for him to strike, nor the degree of determination with which the Ultramontane may venture to oppose it."[22] The Vatican Council had changed things, thought Bancroft. There was a "new Catholic Church" now.[23] Formerly the Catholics had always been treated by the Prussian government with forbearance and even with favor. The Conservative Party had esteemed and cherished them as allies. But at present all was changed. The "new dogma" had "led to complications" that disturbed the former tranquility.[24]

On April 1, 1871, Bishop Philip Krementz of Ermeland dismissed a certain Dr. Wollman, professor of religion at Braunsberg.[25] The Minister of Public Worship, Heinrich Mühler,[26] insisted that he be retained. This interference, the abolition of the Catholic section of the ministry, together with the introduction of another bill concerning supervision of instruction and education, moved the Prussian bishops to appeal directly to the emperor. This was on September 7 of the same year.[27] William I was most reluctant to be brought into the controversy, Bancroft observed, but since he was obliged to reply "he took his ground with decision." He asserted the principle of religious liberty, but he also "reminded the Bishops that they did not even pretend that any law had been infringed upon, reproved them

[20] Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 699 ff.

[21] Martin Spahn, "Kulturkampf," *Catholic Encyclopedia*, VIII, 703-710.

[22] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 1, No. 256 (September 2, 1871).

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 1, No. 298 (November 20, 1871).

[25] Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 700 ff.

[26] Heinrich Mühler (1813-1874), a member of the Conservative Party which frequently allied with the Center against the liberals, was Minister of Public Worship from 1862 to 1872. The ostensible reason for his resignation was a difference arising over a personal matter concerning the administration of the museums. The real reason seems to have been his disagreement with the *Kulturkampf*. Cf. Bismarck, *op. cit.*, III, 143.

[27] Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 704.

for exciting discontent in the Catholics in Prussia, and offered them no way to change except through the established constitutional channels."[28]

The obligation which the bishops and priests felt to warn their people against the discriminatory laws that had already been passed and of others that were in the offing, led directly (December 1, 1871) to the famous "Pulpit Law" which forbade under pain of two years imprisonment any public derogatory remarks against the government.[29] To Bancroft, this encroachment upon liberty of speech—contrary to his oft repeated principles of democratic freedom—was a "bill which with logical impartiality applied the principle of equality to all places and all persons in regard to public utterances on political subjects." Bancroft's own "logical impartiality" was sorely lacking as he continued the same despatch with a story told in the Diet by the Bavarian representative, von Lutz. This official had had an interview with Heinrich Hofstaetter, the Bishop of Passau. The bishop was reported to have said that "do what one would, the Church would strive for supremacy in the state." The Church had been unsuccessful with absolutism and had rejected constitutionalism as unsuitable for establishing her dominion. Now she would batten herself on democracy and the masses. These remarks, wrote Bancroft, were particularly amazing as von Lutz was a Catholic. Then, with no connection whatsoever with the Pulpit Law, the Bishop of Passau, or von Lutz, the despatch immediately went on: "It is well understood in Germany that during our civil war, the sympathies of the ultramontane Catholics were strongly enlisted for the Southern insurgents."[30]

With the same unsubstantiated certainty the official letters rambled on. The ultramontanes were alarmed that the "leading power in central Europe" was headed by a Protestant emperor. In their lust for power they aimed "at introducing divisions between branches of the German people, as well as between the German princes, and at obtaining the sole direction of the education of the Catholic population."[31] No reference was made to the fact that the right of the Catholics to carry on their own affairs had been guaranteed years

[28] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 1, No. 298 (November 20, 1871).
[29] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 706.
[30] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 1, No. 304 (December 4, 1871).
[31] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 2, No. 343 (March 18, 1872).

before by the old Prussian constitution and taken over bodily into the new German one.[32] Rather, the American minister eulogized: "Prince Bismarck met the danger by a measure marked by equal firmness and moderation." His policy safeguarded both freedom of religious opinion and the security of the state. Although the government was to retain the right of superintending the education of "its children," Catholic and Protestant clergymen were still to be employed as supervisors in the public schools. All that was denied to them was the "inherent right to do so independent [*sic*] of the state, and in defiance of the state." This, observed Bancroft, constituted the extent of the measure adopted in Prussia for regulating the administration of the schools.[33]

But Bismarck's faithful chronicler passed over an important fact. On January 22, 1872, Adalbert Falk[34] succeeded Heinrich Mühler as Minister of Public Worship. Mühler had not been in complete agreement with the recent laws. Falk continued the *Kulturkampf* with strong determination. Three months after his appointment (June 25, 1872) the Jesuit houses of Prussia were dissolved and the members of the society outlawed. Bancroft reported these laws as "the spontaneous act of the Diet" which went "far beyond anything which the Council of the German Union was willing to propose, though not beyond what it was willing to accept."[35] Was such a "spontaneous act" possible? Before a bill reached the Reichstag it had to pass through the Bundesrat. To defeat a measure in the Bundesrat required only fourteen of the sixty-one possible votes. Prussia had seventeen of these votes and, for all practical purposes, Prussia was Bismarck, no matter what office the chancellor might nominally hold. One might presume that Bancroft did not know the Prussian law. Still, when the heretical instructors were discharged from Catholic schools, he coolly explained that there was a clause in the Prussian code which secured every Prussian against the forfeiture of any civil right on account of religious opinion. The government, therefore, held itself

[32] Langer, *op. cit.*, p. 689.

[33] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 2, No. 343 (March 18, 1872).

[34] Adalbert Falk (1827-1900) was Minister of Public Worship from 1872 to 1879. He resigned, according to Bismarck, because of feminine court intrigue. Falk remained firmly opposed to any revision of the *Kulturkampf* laws. *Der Grosse Herder*, IV, 632. Bismarck, *op. cit.*, II, 143.

[35] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 2, No. 374 (June 17, 1872) and No. 376 (June 24, 1872).

bound to devise measures which would "make the sentence of excommunication harmless in all that regards civil rights."[36] Whether breach of contract did not to some extent involve a forfeiture of rights, and whether the same clause might not be invoked in favor of the Jesuits, received no mention.

At their annual meeting at Fulda on September 20, 1872, the Prussian hierarchy fruitlessly protested the unjust laws.[37] Only five days later the revenues of Bishop Krementz were suppressed because he had dismissed the heretical teachers.[38] By Christmas affairs had reached such a condition that Pius IX in consistory uttered a strong reproof against those "who not only do not profess our most Holy Religion, but are even ignorant of it," yet who "usurp to themselves the power of defining the dogmas and rights of the Catholic Church." It was truthfully stated from the United States embassy that the allocution brought about the severance of diplomatic relations between the Holy See and the German government. The implication of the last sentenced in the despatch, however, may be questioned: ". . . the New Year finds the Pope in open antagonism with the Government of Germany."[39]

In the midst of the 1872 disputes, the head chaplain of the Prussian forces, Bishop Franz Namszanowsky, had protested against the use of a Cologne Catholic Church for Old-Catholic services. The result was the abolition on March 15, 1873, of Namszanowsky's office[40] and a foreshadowing of more reprisals to come in the session of the German Parliament which had opened on March 12. The discourse of the emperor at the beginning of the legislative session made no reference to the imperial-papal conflict, but Bancroft foresaw that the term could hardly pass without decided action on the question.[41]

Within two months the prediction was actualized in the notorious May Laws.[42] The Prussian constitution was amended in such a

[36] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 2, No. 343 (March 18, 1872).

[37] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 707.

[38] Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 705.

[39] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 707. Alexander Bliss to Fish, GD, Vol. 3, No. 442 (January 6, 1873). Bliss, step-son of Bancroft, had charge of the legation while Bancroft made a trip to the Orient (October 26, 1872-January 21, 1873), Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 263-272.

[40] Granderath, *op. cit.*, III, 706.

[41] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 3, No. 468 (March 17, 1873).

[42] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 707.

way that all administration of the Church was made subject to the law and juridically authorized supervision of the state. This was not done with any idea of interfering with freedom of conscience, wrote Bancroft, but that the rights of the state might be maintained "against attacks under the veil of religion." Verily, the emissary explained, rigid measures were justified since "the belief in the infallibility of a foreign and alien sovereign" meant concomitantly "an allegiance and subordination with no clearly defined bounds." Then followed a characteristically Bismarckian interpretation:

> The war of France against Germany was stimulated by the Vatican, and after the peace the same influence was exercised against the successful organization of the German empire. . . . Further, the great excommunication was used by the Catholic prelacy as an implement of strength and of aggression. Now the great excommunication interferes with the civil rights of the individual excommunicated, and the government would not tolerate the ban which interrupted social and commercial relation. . . . After much reluctance and deliberation the Government resolved to assert the paramount authority of the laws of the State against every encroachment or disobedience growing out of a coordinate or pretended allegiance to a foreign power.[43]

Another May Law stipulated the educational requirements of the clergy. Every "spiritual officer in a Christian Church in Prussia" was to be a German *persona grata* to the government. He must have completed a course at a German gymnaisum and a three-year course at a German university or a seminary regarded by the state as equivalent. The government was not to assume the theological examination, but even a temporary assignment as a minister of religion required successful trial by government ordeal in philosophy, history, German literature, and the classical languages. All theological seminaries were obviously to be under state supervision and all ecclesiastical offices were to be filled only with government approval. A kind of supreme appellate ecclesiastical court was also set up. Finally, the Old Catholic Church was recognized.[44]

Pius IX protested the May Laws in a letter to Emperor William I on August 7, 1873. Bancroft was sure that this message served only "to increase the popularity and European reputation of the

[43] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 3, No. 486 (May 26, 1873).
[44] *Ibid.*

Emperor, and to depress the influence of the clerical party." Contrary to his dire forecastings of the pernicious effects of Catholic dominance in Germany, he observed that such results confirmed accounts which he had always given that ultramontane political influence could never be vitally dangerous to the empire. Moreover, seeming to forget where the struggle had originated, Bancroft went on: "The catholic clergy are obviously beginning to regret having commenced, with the state, a contest in which it is not possible for them to gain the advantage." Bancroft interpreted recent acts of the Holy See as "evidence of a consciousness of the decline of papal authority and as a desperate attempt to recover it." The net result was that all Europe was "sick of the boundless pretensions of the Roman see," and consequently sought "how to avoid papal influence on the external and internal political relations of the state."[45]

The emperor's non-committal answer to the pope was drafted by Bismarck. The chancellor's admirer in the American legation considered the reply astute enough to have influenced the victory of the liberals in the recent elections. "No civilian ever gained a more perfect triumph in diplomacy than he," wrote Bancroft in adulation, "and this triumph is all the more grateful, as it has been achieved in a contest for the rights of reason."[46] Gleefully, he noted again that the result had confirmed to the letter all that he had previously reported. The Roman Catholics, even in the rural districts, were "by no means so completely in the hands of the priests as the German prelates had expected."[47] Bancroft did not record the fact that the losing Center Party had actually doubled its number of votes. Center membership in the Prussian Landtag increased from fifty to ninety; in the Reichstag, from sixty-three to ninety-one.[48] And this was in spite of Pulpit Law, anti-Jesuit laws, and May Laws.

Bancroft announced at the end of 1873 that the tendency in Europe was toward the American system of separation of Church and State,[49] but that Germany was witnessing a two-fold development. On the one hand, a differentiation of functions seemed imminent because of the recent law which permitted the customary legal records, though

[45] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 4, No. 532 (October 27, 1873)
[46] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 4, No. 532 (October 27, 1873).
[47] Ibid.
[48] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 708.
[49] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 4, No. 544 (December 1, 1873).

subject to inspection, to be kept by church officials.[50] On the other side, there was an inflexible determination to enforce the supremacy of the state over all its citizens. Evidence of new stringency soon came. Civil marriage was made compulsory throughout the German Empire.[51] That same spring of 1874 brought more anti-clerical laws, notably, the priest-expulsion law, whereby all priests deprived of their offices were turned over to the discretion of the police authorities.[52] Under this law Archbishop Miecislas Halka Ledochowsky of Posen and Gnesen was deposed and imprisoned.[53] The Bancroft report of the legislation is uncomplimentary to his sense of historical truth: "The law passed by almost absolute unanimity except the ultramontanes and the Poles."[54] This is surely a shrewd way of saying that nearly one-fourth of the Reichstag opposed the bill.[55] Nevertheless, Bancroft did grasp the import of the measure. One of the twelve Prussian bishops had already been expelled from his see. To leave the Catholic population without bishops would, indeed, "open the way for many chances of change." There is a grain of truth, too, in the conclusion that in such an eventuality "the catholic hierarchy must die out or as has happened in Russia exercise its functions in subordination to the power of the state."[56]

By the middle of 1874 the *Kulturkampf* was in full operation. Bancroft did not remain at his post for the climax and *dénouement*. In August, 1874 he returned to the United States.[57] His increasing age had induced him to resign voluntarily. Before starting out for his homeland, Bancroft spent a friendly hour with Bismarck. The historian has recorded part of the conversation:

> Of the present strife with the usurping disposition of the Vatican priesthood he [Bismarck] said he had long ago represented it as the same in substance as the strife between Calchus and Agamemnon, the priest of that day, pretending to powers superior to the state, would be contented

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[50] *Ibid.*, also Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 4, No. 578 (March 30, 1874).

[51] *Ibid.* (No. 544). [52] Spahn, *loc. cit.*, p. 708.

[53] *Ibid.* Cf. also Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 4, No. 578 (March 30, 1874) and Vol. 5, No. 586 (April 27, 1874). [54] *Ibid.* (No. 586).

[55] In 1874 the Center Party held ninety-one out of 397, or 22.9 per cent, of the Reichstag seats. Polish Conservatives would even raise the percentage. Cf. tables in "Zentrum," *Der Grosse Herder*, XII, 1459-1460.

[56] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 5, No. 586 (April 27, 1874).

[57] Howe, *op. cit.*, II, 277.

with no less sacrifice from the King of Men than of his daughter. He had once, he related, been discussing questions of this sort with Bishop Ketteller [*sic*] and the bishop had turned upon him with the question, "so then you think that no Catholic can be saved?" and he answered with a laugh, "as to the Catholic people they certainly may be saved; but as to the priesthood certainly not." From his conversation I could perceive that he aimed at a reform in the Catholic Church.[58]

Such reform well accorded with George Bancroft's ideas of Catholic machinations. To circumvent "Romish wiles" he deemed even tyranny justified, regardless of the incongruity of such despotism with the messianic republicanism that he otherwise professed. In logical thinking, in correct judgment, in objective reporting, Bancroft fell below the promising expectations of 1867. Fortunately for his reputation, his deficiencies were veiled with social charm and diplomatic finesse—qualities which induced Bismarck to label him, "the perfect diplomat."[59]

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[58] Bancroft to Fish, GD, Vol. 5, No. 593 (Private), May 25, 1874. This conversation is also mentioned in the memoirs of Bismarck. Bismarck, *op. cit.*, II, 138.

[59] Count Otto zu Stolberg-Wernigerode, *Germany and the United States during the Era of Bismarck* (Reading, Pennsylvania [1937], p. 99, citing Poschinger, *Fürst Bismarck: neue Tischgespräche*, II, 274).

BOOK REVIEWS

GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

Histoire des religions. Volume I. Edited by Maurice Brillant and René Aigrain. (Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1953. Pp. 308. 960 frs.)

Shortly after the ten-volume Dutch encyclopaedia, *De Godsdiensten der Mensheid* (published by J. J. Romen en Zoon, Roermond) had been issued, another work of nearly the same aims appeared by the Austrian, Bishop Francis König, in three volumes, *Christus und die Religionen der Welt* (Wien, 1952). For French readers a series of similar monographs is being issued under the general title *Histoire des Religions.* A total of five volumes is planned. The first of this series discusses general introductory themes; among them the development of the history of religions as a special scientific branch, and the method followed in the study of comparative religions. The second half of this volume contains the religious beliefs and activities, ceremonies and rituals, of prehistoric man and of living primitive peoples. As the space allowed for this review is very limited, I must restrict myself to a few very general remarks.

Although two definitions of religion, very similar to each other, the one formulated by the famous Père Grandmaison, O.P., and the other by the well known Wilhelm Schmidt, S.V.D., have proved their usefulness for many years, the concept "religion" in this work is to be taken in an unusually broad sense. The authors bring together under this title of religion of prehistoric and primitive men, nearly the whole bulk of their mental culture, viz., mythology, cult of heroes, wedding ceremonies, puberty rites, magic, and cannibalism, and even the extended complex of totemism.

As the authors preferably follow philosophical or psychological principles and assumptions in their analysis of these manifold cultural beliefs and institutions, instead of applying a cultural-historical method, obviously their explanations and interpretations differ very often, and even in principle, from the opinion and arguments of objective authorities in ethnology. Such *a priori* interpretations of facts can be seen plentifully in the chapter "Quelques éléments communs aux formes inférieurs de la religion" (pp. 83-110). For example, there is not one of the leading ethnologists in the new or the old world who would follow the opinion held by M. Leenhardt that the "gros volumes" (*Ursprung der Gottesidee* by Wilhelm Schmidt, 9 volumes) do not present more than a "belle somme de mythologie religieuse; mais aucun document justifiant l'appellation d'Etre Suprême pour les dieux rencontrés, . . . des dieux sans action, sans culte

. . ." (p. 95). These supernatural personalities worshipped even by the most primitive natives, the so-called foodgatherers, are not "dii otiosi." On the contrary, they interfere very actively in the daily life and work of men, as I myself have found out among the Indians in Tierra del Fuego, the Plains Indians in the United States, the Pygmies in Central Africa, and the Bushmen and Hottentots in South Africa. Moreover, the "raisons contre l'ancienneté des prétendus Etre Suprêmes" and the "Etapes vers l'idée de Dieu" (p. 97), worked out by our author, are by no means historical facts or developments, but pure fantastic constructions of the imagination, not acceptable to serious ethnologists and pre-historians.

In the second part of this book (pp. 163-297), the concrete facts and beliefs considered as "religion" of the primitive peoples are classified according to the four continents, and, within each continent, according to the geographic location of each tribe. Concerning the natives of America, however, "une méthode synthétique" (p. 224) is followed. As far as the concrete facts are concerned, the best explorers and most trustworthy specialists have not been cited at all. The documentation of this book on the whole makes it very often impossible to find out whose opinion is being presented. The most fatal mistake is the author's disregard of the results of modern ethnological research. Nowadays ethnologists group primitive peoples of the same cultural level, no matter where they are found in the world, into cultural units called, e.g., culture areas (using the term of Clark Wissler of New York). These cultural units are the results of historical development, and offer the only adequate explanation of religious practices and beliefs of all tribes belonging to these special cultural levels. In a word, we have pointed out some of the more serious deficiencies in the principles and methods followed in this monograph.

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Western Canon Law. By R. C. Mortimer. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1953. Pp. 92. $2.00.)

This slender book represents five lectures which the Bishop of Exeter (Church of England) delivered in 1951 at the University of California. The lectures very probably made the bishop's auditors aware of a segment of history about which they had not previously had much understanding; the volume can perform a similar service for laymen who will read it.

Yet, it is necessary to put the reader on guard. Quite naturally the author, with his particular ecclesiastical allegiance, rejects the idea of a supreme bishop having real jurisdiction over the universal Church. For

him canon law cannot derive from such a bishop; "in its strictest sense canon law means laws or canons passed by councils." This rejection of real jurisdiction residing in a supreme bishop colors the author's whole presentation of his subject; for this reason he cannot be recommended as an entirely safe guide.

In many respects the most interesting sections of this book are the final two chapters. Here the author describes what happened to canon law in the Church of England after Henry VIII's rebellion against ecclesiastical authority, and he reveals some of his own ideas for revision of the law. Above all there is in these final chapters an undertone of longing, of wanting to belong. The canon law of the universal Church, whose history he has sought to describe in three prior chapters, was once "an integral part of English life." Because of what happened under Henry, the canon law of the Church of England is nothing more than "the king's ecclesiastical laws." This good author seems to believe that through revision the canon law of his church can become a real canon law, i.e., something more than a law whose "content and authority" depend so utterly upon the will of Parliament. But the sad fact remains that his church can hope for nothing better than to remain saddled with parliamentary ecclesiastical law until the Church *of* England, by a reversal of what happened under Henry VIII, becomes again *the* Church *in* England.

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Du premier concile du Latran à l'avènement d'Innocent III (1123-1198). Part II. By Raymonde Foreville, professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de Rennes, and Jean Rousset de Pina, conservateur de la Bibliothèque de Tunis. [Histoire de l'Eglise depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours, Volume IX, Part 2.] (Paris: Bloud & Gay. 1953. Pp. 388. 1,050 fr.)

This is a very good book on a most difficult period in the history of the Church. It is a clear and well authenticated presentation. The twelfth century in many respects has been eclipsed by the more glamorous thirteenth, but there is no understanding of the latter without a deep penetration into the problems of the former. It is almost impossible to evaluate the threat of the secular power to the independence of the Church—even after the Concordat of Worms—without considering the serious problems faced by Alexander III during the lamentable schism of 1159. The program for defense of ecclesiastical rights initiated by this great pope accounts in large part for papal action during the century that follows.

For the most part this is a history of the papacy in which the facts are allowed to speak for themselves. It is refreshing to have an account where the reasonableness of the papal position is brought into the clear, even though the exclusively spiritual side of its mission is not given special treatment. Numerous other significant subjects are considered in the course of the narrative: the Plantagenet development of the Constitutions of Clarendon into the "traditional dignities" of the English Crown, the serious and often confusing question of the *major et sanior pars*, the popes and the defense of the Lombard League, and the gripping study of the organization and publicizing of the Third Crusade, not to mention a brief but satisfying account of the missionary activity of the Church from Iceland to the Near East. As far as the papacy is concerned, the incredible character of Bernard continued to dominate policy even after his death, though there was a change at the end of the century with the increasingly important role of the cardinals in the Church corporation.

One of the most valuable sections of the work is that which deals with the organization, the revenues, and the internal life of the Church. It becomes very evident that the episcopacy would not have withstood without papal support the pressure of the temporal powers. Only the popes seemed to have appreciated the universal and supra-national character of the Church. From an opposite point of view, there is a good introduction to the heresies that plagued the Church during the period. Many of these various topics are treated quite briefly, and there could have been a more detailed treatment of the problems in theology, political thought, and the rise of the universities. Then, too, one could have hoped for some discussion of the clash between Chartrain humanism and Parisian dialectics. But in a work of this length it is evident that the line must be drawn somewhere.

Mlle. Foreville, to whom we are indebted for the major part of this work, is to be congratulated on her easy style and her ability to present a truly readable narrative. The new editors of the series, M. Duroselle and M. Jarry, begin with a volume that must be counted among the best of the series so far. The bibliographies and especially the printing are excellent.

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Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216). Edited by C. R. Cheney and W. H. Semple. [Nelson's Medieval Texts.] (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. 1953. Pp. xliii. 248. 30s.)

A selection from the letters of Pope Innocent III to England seems a wise choice for an edition of mediaeval texts. Innocent III is by common

consent one of the greatest of the mediaeval popes, and these letters afford the opportunity of studying at first hand, even though within a restricted sphere, his arms, achievements, and politico-religious aspirations. The form of the letters is of equal importance with their factual content. Here we have a mine of information on such aspects of history as papal methods of diplomacy and administration, and the style and procedure of the papal chancery.

The Manchester professors have produced a most scholarly edition for which students of mediaeval history will be grateful. Professor Cheney's selection covers almost every aspect of the pope's activities. He has given a critical text of each letter, and his footnotes show a wide and exact scholarship. These footnotes are of particular importance in directing the student in the right use of these letters as sources of history. His introduction, which deals briefly with such matters as the pontificate of Innocent III, the formal characteristics of the letters, their transmission in manuscript and in published editions, is of great value. However, it is all too short. The interested reader may not be satisfied with such a statement as, e.g., "Du May printed a selection from the register of the years 13-16, taken from a manuscript which was probably the original register and the exemplar of Reg.Vat.8" (p. xxxii). He may well ask where did Du May get this manuscript, and why is Reg.Vat.8. only a fourteenth-century copy of the lost original? No doubt the editor was bound by limitations of space; it would surely have been wise, however, to have made known to the serious student fuller details of the history of the register, in particular with regard to the loss of books 13-16, and the peregrinations of books 10-13. Further details regarding the printed editions and calendars would also serve a useful purpose: page xxxiii, Note 2, which deals with the omissions of Bliss might well be amplified; and the relationship between the printed editions and the Vatican registers might be more clearly indicated. The "Index of Letters of Innocent III" is very valuable but, owing to its position in the book, the reader might not immediately advert to its importance. It might have been clearly stated in the introduction that this index provides a concordance of the number in Potthast's *Regesta* with a printed text, and when references are given solely to Potthast (e.g., pp. xxi, nn. 1-2; xxxiii, n. 2; xxv, nn. 2-3) an additional note might well be appended advising the student to consult the index. There are one or two further observations. Peitz's important work is referred to with the abbreviated title *Das original Register* (p. xxviii, n. 3); one would expect full details in the bibliography. Owing to a printer's blur it is difficult to read the title of the book, *Miscellanea Pio Paschini* (p. x, n. 2); and Maccarrone's article as quoted shows a

very slight variation from the original. Presumably the statement (p. xxxii) that "Potthast's sins of commission were remarkably few" (p. xxxii) refers only to the letters included in the present selection.

Professor Semple's translation reads excellently, and when checked proved to be literal as well as literary. However, the renderings of the terms *regnum* and *sacerdotium* ("crown and clergy," "crown and prelacy") (p. 128); "kingdom and priesthood" (pp. 157, 165, 171) and of the quotation *"ut sacerdotale sit regnum et sacerdotium sit regale"* ("the kingdom is become a royal priesthood and the priesthood a kingdom of priests") (pp. 149, 177) seem to be a little too literal. The various renderings of the elusive *alioquin* (e.g., No. 2) are, perhaps, not always felicitous.

One outstanding feature of this edition is the extreme care taken by the editors to trace and elucidate scriptural and classical quotations. The excellence of the present edition can best be illustrated by comparison with that of Migne. In the letter of March 27, 1202, "To the illustrious king of the English" (Migne, ccvix, 972) two of Migne's scriptural references are shown to be inexact (*Matt.* 10:56, *Rom.* 6:23 for *Matt.* 10:36, *Rom.* 7:23) and the following quotations which Migne misses are noted: six scriptural quotations (*Gal.* 5:17; *Sap.* 9:15; *I Cor.* 9:27; *I John* 1:18; *Luc.* 15:7, 10; *Phillip.* 3:13) and one classical (*Horace*, Ep. 1.14.36).

This is a valuable book for the student of mediaeval history.

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Die Missionsmethode in Spanisch-Amerika im 16. Jahrhundert. By Johann Specker, S.M.B. (Schoeneck/Beckenried, Switzerland: Administration der neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. 1953. Pp. xxi, 247. SFr. 15.60.)

This volume is in part a protest. Dr. Specker thinks that the church councils and synods of sixteenth-century Spanish America have been slighted by historians who have written of the conversion of the Indians, in particular by Ricard. To make amends, the author has written this volume to emphasize the mission content of the decrees issued by the synods and councils during the first century of Spanish domination. An introductory section deals with such questions as: the establishment of the hierarchy, the legal condition of the Church, the relations between diocesan and regular clergy, and the ecclesiastical synods and councils.

The main part of the volume is devoted to the mission aspects of the decrees themselves. Dr. Specker shows that the church fathers were exceedingly thorough and their decrees all-embracing. Few phases of ecclesiastical life and practice escaped their vigilance. Among some of the topics included in this second section are: the training and rules of life for the mission clergy, catechetical methods, the struggle against idolatry and drunkenness, the native clergy, administration of the sacraments, native dances, nuns and lay helpers.

Dr. Specker's volume emphasizes splendidly the importance of the church councils of the sixteenth century as law-making assemblies. However, this does not seem to have been his intention. In his preface he seems to feel that a detailed consideration of the conciliar decrees would add to our knowledge of Spanish mission methods; actually he does not seem to have achieved this aim. Laws in themselves are generally unsatisfactory historical sources since their background, degree of observance, and often their very interpretation depend upon other evidence. Such evidence is very deficient in this volume, except in the case of Mexico where it is drawn largely from Ricard or sources already used by him. Supplementary material from other parts of Spanish America is almost totally lacking, with the result that there is a marked tendency to identify Mexico with Spanish America. That is not good history. It is just not true that in all Spanish America even before 1550 the friars formed the bulk of the mission clergy, nor accordingly were the relations between bishops and religious as strained in all areas as in Mexico. On the other hand, the survival of pagan influences was a much more acute problem in Peru than it was in most of Mexico. Lastly, there are no references to the synods or councils of Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, Colombia, Central America, the Antilles, and northwest Mexico. In all honesty the author acknowledges that the sources for these gatherings were not available, but this should also be reflected in the title. Surely the title should describe the contents of the book and not merely the hopes of the author.

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China in the Sixteenth Century: The Journals of Matthew Ricci: 1583-1610. Translated from the Latin by Louis J. Gallagher, S.J. With a Foreword by Richard J. Cushing, D.D., LL.D., Archbishop of Boston. (New York: Random House. 1953. Pp. xxii, 616. $7.50.)

In 1608 Father Matteo Ricci, S.J., sensed his approaching death and decided to write the history of his mission in China. Unaware that the Catholic faith and hierarchy had been introduced to China three centuries

earlier by the Franciscans, he entitled his story, *Della entrata della compagnia di Giesù e Christianità nella Cina* (Entrance of the Society of Jesus and Christianity into China). He wrote his work in Italian in five books, producing an extensive, truthful, informative, and delightful account of China and his mission. After his death Father Sabatino de Ursis added a notice of his illness, demise, and burial, while Fathers G. Ferreira, N. Longobardo and L. Cattaneo contributed additional mission news. In mid-1610 Nicholas Trigault, a young Belgian Jesuit, arrived in China just in time to be sent back to Europe as mission procurator to carry Ricci's work and start some mission promotion. As a part of the plan, Trigault put Ricci's book into Latin, but marred the precision and terseness of the Italian original with literary amplifications, inconsequential additions, regretful omissions, and obvious misreadings. This sort of pompous paraphrase appeared in 1615 entitled *De christiana expeditione apud Sinas ab societate Iesv svscepta. Ex P. Matthaei Ricij eiusdem societatis commentarijs,* under Trigault's authorship ("Auctore P. Nicolao Trigavtio"). In quick succession this translation was, in turn, translated into French, German, Spanish, Italian, and English (in part), while Ricci's original manuscript was gathering dust in the Roman archives of the Jesuits.

At long last in 1910 Pietro Tacchi Venturi, S.J., rescued the original from oblivion. He prepared a critical edition of the text—enriched with references, notes, and mission letters—and published it in two volumes as *Opere storiche del P. Matteo Ricci S.I.* in 1911-1913. Being no Sinologist, the learned editor could not furnish direct and full utilization of Chinese sources. This task was reserved to Father Pasquale M. D'Elia, S.J., who in 1942 published the first volume of a masterful edition of Ricci's book and letters with critical apparatus under the general title *Fonti Ricciane,* which was completed in three volumes in 1949. Two critical editions did not discourage Father Gallagher from translating Trigault's translation as *China in the Sixteenth Century,* in five books, embodying herein *The China That Was,* which he published in 1942, as book one. This is, indeed, a free, inaccurate, and all too modern translation of Trigault. A conscientious checking of the various versions against the original shows that a constructive review of this work would require no less than another book which, of course, would prove worthless. For a translation of a translation is unjustifiable in the face of two critical editions of the original. Besides, knowledge of the Chinese language and culture is required to undertake a work of this nature. Father Gallagher should have put his beautiful English to more suitable use.

A few illustrations may suffice to justify this criticism. While Trigault wrote *De Christiana expeditione* in the first person showing himself as

the author, Father Gallagher, in putting it into English, wants to give the impression that he is translating Ricci purely and simply. Thus he replaces the second paragraph of the work, wherein Trigault stated his purpose of writing an historical account of the events recorded in Ricci's diary, with a paragraph of his own that reads:

> Such is the opening paragraph of the Ricci Diary, after which Father Trigault remarks, in the first person, that he is endeavoring to write an historical account of the facts gathered from the posthumous papers of Father Matthew Ricci, facts which were set down in his Diary for the benefit of posterity. The Diary is then continued, with Ricci writing, in the first person (p. 3).

But it is not so. In fact, four pages later he is obliged to explain in a note a reference to Ricci in the text thus: "Here, as throughout Books 2 to 5, Trigault, the narrator, as he signs himself at the end of Book 5, uses the name of Matthew Ricci where the original manuscript has P. Matteo, il Padre or some other indefinite form" (p. 7, n. 2). On page 8 it says: "To the west, China's frontier lies along the 112° longitude." Father Gallagher tries to explain the error by annotating that "Trigault writes *centesimo duodecimo* evidently for *centesimo secundo*." Instead, Trigault for once followed Ricci who, pioneering in Chinese geography, had to change his notions several times and was mistaken in this case.

On the products of Chinese soil, Trigault misstated that *ficulneae*, here translated as "the real fig tree," was introduced into China by the Jesuits, whereas it was already recorded in the Sui-T'ang era (A.D. 590-906). Many words are spent to describe the "Chinese fig" which resembles "a large Persian apple." Father Gallagher annotates, "Probably the peach" (p. 11). The reader would never suspect that the fruit in question is the persimmon *(diospyros kaki)*. How more precise and concise was Ricci, who mentioned also the *paziao* (in modern romanization, *pa-chiao*, banana, misidentified as "fichi d'India" or cactus by D'Elia, *Fonti Ricciane*, I, 18, n. 5). On page 12, along with the betre should be mentioned the areca palm (Trigault, "arbor quam Arequeiram vocant"). The word "bubalis" should be translated "buffalos" instead of gazelles (*ibid.*). Cotton seed was not introduced into China "forty years ago" but four hundred years ago (p. 13). Silver is used as money by weight but not "in stamped coins" (Trigault, "pondere non etiam sigillo impresso distinguitur") (p. 14). Coal is similar to the kind mined "in the diocese of Leodienses in Belgium" (p. 15); but Trigault said only "in Episcopatu Leodiensis diocesis" or in the Diocese of Liége. The whole paragraph on a kind of "pitch" could be made meaningful by calling it lacquer. The dates of the invention of printing in China and Europe are not given in Trigault and should not be interpolated (p. 20).

The entire government terminology used in this work is far too imprecise and modern (pp. 41-59). Take, for instance, the "Pimpu or Military Court, which holds jurisdiction over all departments of national defense" (p. 48); or the "federal bureau" of the Colao (*ibid.*). The notion and organization of national defense and of a federal bureau were unknown to the Chinese. The "keepers of the public conscience" were none other than the censors (p. 49). In China a "crown prince" would be a mere heir apparent (p. 50). Incidentally, the episode related about him did happen on a date that corresponds to our November 9, 1601 (while D'Elia, *Fonti*, I, 61, n. 2, equates it with November 10).

Finally, it must be stated that the whole work is marred by the rendering of Chinese terms and names in Trigault's latinized form which was derived from Ricci's italianized transliteration. Moreover, a Chinese index at the end of the book contributes further to confusion and error. But the basic error undermining the entire work of Father Gallagher is to have presumed to translate Trigault's book as if it were Ricci's. Instead, Ricci still awaits an English scholar, well versed in both Italian and Chinese, who will make the first English translation of his valuable and lovable book.

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Bérulle et les origines de la restauration catholique (1575-1611). By Jean Dagens. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer. 1952. Pp. 457.)

M. Dagens, professor in the Faculté des Lettres of the University of Algiers, is known as the editor of an excellent critical edition of Cardinal de Bérulle's correspondence. The present work is the mature result of M. Dagens' long acquaintance with the mind of Bérulle, one of the best moral theologians of all time, but also one of the most difficult. This volume, the first of a trilogy, was submitted to the Sorbonne as a doctoral thesis. In the second volume, M. Dagens plans to study Bérulle's role in the work of the Catholic restoration of the first half of the seventeenth century in France. The third volume will be devoted to the purely literary aspects of Bérulle's works.

The author rightly thought that it served no useful purpose to take up again the biography of Cardinal de Bérulle after the monumental work of the Abbé Houssaye. What interests him is the history of ideas. Instead of considering them from a purely theological point of view, he has attempted to see their genesis and development by relating them to the trends of the epoch that produced them. This naturally led M. Dagens to

give us, as he progressed, valuable information about authors and personalities more or less well known. The extensive bibliographies and the critical notes assembled at the end of the volume will henceforth be an indispensable tool for research in the history of religious ideas of this period. The text itself is remarkably compact, and one catches oneself regretting that the author, undoubtedly hard pressed by the demands of publication, was compelled to condense certain passages that might well have been developed and to allude to facts assumed to be known. This he does to such an extent that for those who are not too familiar with the period he becomes difficult to understand.

Anyone who is looking for a strictly chronological exposition will find the plan of this book puzzling. The first part shows us the original sources of Bérulle's thought: his family, school surroundings, the humanism of the Renaissance, and scholastic theology. The second part describes Bérulle's initial activities within the spiritual milieu of Europe and France then stirred by the first symptoms of Catholic reform. Bérulle's personal undertakings, especially the establishment of the Carmel in France, are the subject of the third part. The last part is a fine synthesis of Bérulle's mature thought wherein, on the principal points, the author is careful to make useful comparisons with the ideas which might have influenced Bérulle.

The principal innovation of M. Dagens' work is to show that Bérulle was influenced more than was thought, and more than Bremond had said, by the spiritual currents of his time: the humanism of the Renaissance, Augustinian theology restored to favor by the masters of Louvain, the Rhenish mystical school, Franciscan theology, and Carmelite spirituality. It may even be that M. Dagens by his investigation along this line has been led to minimize somewhat the great originality of the Bérullian synthesis which others had exaggerated. But that is a question of perspective. It is certain that M. Dagens, by demonstrating that Bérulle had a more cultivated, more open, and more curious mind than was believed, recreates for us a more human and, therefore, more likeable Bérulle.

GUILLAUME DE BERTIER DE SAUVIGNY

Institut Catholique de Paris

Der Josephinismus. By Ferdinand Maass. Two Volumes. (Wien: Verlag Herold. 1951, 1953. Pp. iv, 395; xxxi, 559. $12.00 per set.)

This work should be welcomed by students of the Church-State problem. One in the large series devoted to the sources of Austrian history, *Fontes rerum Austriacarum,* it is a thoroughgoing study of the origin and development of Josephinism based on official documents from state archives in Vienna. These documents, 440 in number, in Latin, German, Italian,

and French are printed in full. They constitute the chief value of this work. Actually, more than half of each volume consists of these documents; and the study itself, apart from an introductory chapter, can be considered as a well developed commentary on them.

The first volume treats of the origin and essence of Josephinism, 1760-1769, the second of its development and crisis, 1770-1790. The leading role in the work is played by the chancellor, Prince Kaunitz. A man steeped in the teaching of the Enlightenment and an avid reader of the French *Encyclopedia,* he was the one responsible for the introduction of Josephinism into Austria, its development, and perfecting. Most of the documents in both volumes were either written by him or addressed to him. Through them we see the preponderating influence he exerted on both Maria Theresa and Joseph II. The intellectual and moral qualities that enabled him to carry through his designs stand out clearly: strong convictions about the rights of the State over the Church, a clear view of his aims, a relentless tenacity in carrying them out that was deterred by no obstacle, ability to bide his time, prudence, cunning, and a ruthless use of means to achieve his ends. These qualities were combined with a certain naïveté in religious affairs that was unable or unwilling to see the views of Rome. Lombardy was the field of action of Kaunitz's early attempts at domination of the Church by the State: the nomination of bishops by the State, the censorship of books removed from ecclesiastical authority, laws directed against the Church's property, decrees restricting the activity of religious orders, etc. But it was not long, however, before his plan of attack was extended also to Austria itself. Maria Theresa was no match for Kaunitz. Though strongly attached to her religion by education and tradition, she allowed her emotions to sway her judgment. Kaunitz knew how to influence her and he succeeded in quieting all opposition on her part to his plans. Under Joseph II his influence grew despite certain setbacks in the beginning of the reign. Actually, on the occasion of the visit of Pius VI to Vienna in 1782 he prevailed on the emperor to follow the uncomprising stand he advocated.

The highwater mark of Kaunitz's policy occurred in 1787 when he delivered an ultimatum to the Holy See demanding consent to the elevation of the somewhat unorthodox Bishop of Laibach to the rank of archbishop. Fortunately for the Catholic future of Austria, the bishop died suddenly. After this event Kaunitz was not able, due to various circumstances, to carry on the war with Rome so completely, but he had done his work well, and after his death the system he had fathered continued to exert its baleful influence. Each volume has a good index and a number of full-page photostatic illustrations of documents referred to in the text.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

Alma College

Church and Society. Catholic Social and Political Thought and Movements, 1789-1950. Edited by Joseph N. Moody. (New York: Arts, Inc. 1953. Pp. xiv, 914. $12.00.)

No one can read this immense volume without feeling deep appreciation to Joseph N. Moody and his twelve collaborators for throwing new light upon much of modern history, particularly Catholic intellectual and social history. The book is particularly valuable because it demonstrates the great variety and depth of Catholic experience and of the Catholic contribution in modern times. For those who worry about the pressures leading toward conformism and standardization in the modern world, it is quite a corrective.

The goal of this volume was to present expert analyses of the main developments in Catholic social and political thought and movements since 1789. This has been done on a country basis with chapters of varying length and quality devoted to the papacy, France, Belgium, Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Spain, Latin America, Britain, and the United States. It truly represents international scholarship on an international subject, for among the contributors are citizens of Belgium, Germany, Chile, the United States, Britain, France, Hungary and Poland. The group includes distinguished scholars, such as Professor Charles Micaud of the University of Virginia; prominent statesmen and journalists, such as Christopher Hollis, member of Parliament and one of the editors of the London *Tablet;* and high officials in Catholic youth and labor movements such as Paul Vignaux of the CFTC. Consequently, the book is generally marked both by thorough scholarship and by practical understanding of political and social problems. More than most analyses of political and social thought, it reflects the market place and the mill, and the reader, therefore, obtains from it a real grasp of the complex and intricate problems which have harassed the western world the past century and a half and which will continue to plague it for the foreseeable future.

In many ways this is a pioneer volume, and the reader learns from it the wide gaps and inconsistencies in our knowledge of this vast field. Indeed, when one considers the interest in intellectual history in this country and in western Europe in recent decades, and when one surveys the vast literature on the history of socialist and communist thought, on liberalism and radicalism, on various art and literary schools, one begins to realize how great has been the lack of scholarly study in the field which this book surveys.

The shortcomings of this volume, therefore, reflect the general failure to study this important subject, and the volume should serve to direct scholars to the areas least known. The principal gap in our knowledge applies to the period since 1900 or World War I, and almost all of the essays are

weak on the twentieth century. Even Father Moody's excellent analysis on French developments between 1789 and 1945 has relatively little of value on the period after 1907. The gap is particularly striking in the generally penetrating essay on Germany, which does not face squarely developments in that country after 1918, particularly after 1928. The second principal area where additional studies are needed applies to the entire field of intellectual history outside of the political and social fields. This volume had clear and definite boundaries, but in few of the essays is there any indication of interest in or knowledge of the ideas and contributions of Catholics in related fields.

Church and Society, like all such volumes, is uneven in quality. The best essays are those on France and Germany. Those on Poland, Belgium, the United States, and Latin America are particularly weak, with the two essays on Latin America actually applying only to Mexico and Chile. There is no essay on Italy and, indeed, Italy is not even noted in the index. The Spanish problem proved too difficult for detailed analysis, although the brief Moody essay on the Spanish problem is very thoughtful and penetrating.

On the whole, however, this volume represents a valuable contribution to a subject which has not received the attention it deserves, and we all owe gratitude to its editor for organizing and editing it.

ROBERT F. BYRNES

Rutgers University

La politica estera di Tommaso Bernetti. By Emilia Morelli. (Roma: Edizioni di storia e letteratura. 1953. Pp. 269. L 2000.)

Miss Morelli's aim in this book, as she tells us in her preface, is to "reconstruct the external policy of the Holy See and at the same time the personality of Cardinal Thomas Bernetti," Secretary of State under Gregory XVI during the years 1831 to 1836. The most prolific source of information and the basis of her study are the files of the papal Secretariate of State in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano. Supplementing these, and supplying most important and interesting data, are archives of several of the states involved with the Holy See at the time, especially those of Vienna (Haus-, Hof-, und Staatsarchiv), Paris (Archive Quai d'Orsay), London (Public Record Office), and Holland (Algemeen Rijksarchief), as well as the Archives of the Spanish Embassy and the Museo Centrale del Risorgimento, both in Rome. A particularly fecund source proved to be the private archives of Lord Palmerston, the then Secretary for Foreign Affairs in London.

The author's reconstruction of the external policy of the Holy See, which was concerned mainly with affairs affecting the Papal States, but which involved also relations with Spain, Portugal, Poland, Brazil, and Naples, confirms, for the most part, the conclusions of other historians on the subject. It points up the conservatism of the papal administration in its clinging to the *status quo* when some wise concessions to the trend of the times might have eased the situation. It demonstrates, too, the manner in which Austria, France, and England, using the Papal States as the pawn of their own rivalries, strove to dictate policies to the Holy See, and the passive resistance offered by the Vatican, which those powers could never totally disregard.

The study brings new light on the disorganization within the ranks of the papal functionaries themselves, occasioned by the opposition to Bernetti of a group of cardinals who distrusted him, and who were able at times to influence the pope against him. It is a fact that in the first years the Holy Father placed great confidence in his Secretary of State, but lacking any knowledge of political affairs (he was a saintly Camaldolese monk, whose main and almost exclusive concern was the spiritual welfare of the Church), he "gave ear to too many counsellors, not always enlightened or disinterested," as Bernetti himself complained. In this opposition of the cardinals Miss Morelli's findings very convincingly place the cause of Bernetti's dismissal in 1836, contrary to the heretofore generally accepted "legend" perpetuated by Bianchi that the pope sacrificed him to the wishes of Austria.

Bernetti's personality is synthesized by the author in her final chapter. Though a cleric, a state which he was constrained to enter in order to follow out in the Papal States the diplomatic career he had adopted, Bernetti never took holy orders and retained always the attitude of a man of the world. He did not lack ability as a diplomat and could meet representatives of foreign nations on their own ground, but in the opinion of some of his observers, he was wanting in vision, having, according to the English envoy, Seymour, "political views that do not go beyond the end of the week." He is depicted as one who was noted for "the splendid disinterestedness with which he conducted himself in every circumstance," unable to understand those who were impelled by personal or financial motives; he was outspoken, sometimes impulsive, in the expression of his opinions, "passing rapidly from one extreme to the other." Moreover, he was energetic and stubborn in the pursuit of his views, despite his growing desperation with "the flies," as he himself described them, that continually surrounded and annoyed him. And he was able to accept lightly his dismissal, which was regarded in Rome as something of a disgrace. The synthesis gives a rather complete and satisfying picture of the man.

There is included an appendix of about a hundred pages of interesting and enlightening documents from the various sources consulted by the author. The lack of a bibliography might be justified by the author's intention to make her reconstructions entirely from first hand sources, but one feels, nevertheless, that given the number of works referred to in the preface and in the footnotes a bibliography would be useful. Greater care should have been exercised in the editing of the English documents in the appendix, especially in the matter of syllabification. On the whole, however, Miss Morelli has made a worthwhile contribution to this period of European history.

BERNARD E. RANSING
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New York City

Cardinal Gasquet. A Memoir. By Shane Leslie. (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. Pp. x, 273. $3.50.)

With the publication of this work we have at least one readable book on each of the now deceased Englishmen enrolled in the Sacred College during the past century, with the single exception of Edward Howard. The time for a definitive judgment on most of them has not come; but when all the evidence is in, it is likely that Francis Aidan Gasquet will rank next to the big three—Wiseman, Manning, and Newman—and ahead of Howard, Vaughan, Bourne, and Hinsley in personal talent and lasting influence on the Church.

The son of a French father, who was a royalist emigré, and of an English mother, Gasquet was wholly English in temperament and outlook. Brought up in the small Catholic circle that enjoyed the personal friendships of Wiseman, Manning, and Ullathorne, he was educated from early boyhood by the Benedictines, and was greatly influenced by Cuthbert Hedley, the future bishop. These early contacts were of life-long value and opened many doors later when his career at Downside seemed to have ended in premature invalidism. Educated in the old English Benedictine way, without formal Tridentine seminary or university studies at home or abroad, he resembled Ullathorne more than any other prominent clerical figure in the Catholic England of his day. His interests, ecclesiastical and intellectual, covered a wide range, and he had a notable gift for getting on with people whose learning and acumen were deeper than his own, even when they were on opposite sides of great issues, e.g., Benedict XV, Merry del Val, Edmund Bishop, and Duchesne. His life was divided among a series of quite distinct assignments, only two of which, the historical studies and his work for the papal commission on Anglican orders, had any discernible connection, and he was fortunate in being able to turn so readily from one field to another as circumstances required.

His deep belief in Providence helped him to do so, even when he was denied the appointment to Westminster under such strange circumstances.

This series of apparently unrelated roles adds greatly both to the interest of his life and the difficulties of his biographer. Successively a monastic reformer and prior of Downside; an historian of growing renown who lived privately in London for many years, far from his monastery; consultant to the papal commission on Anglican orders; Abbot President of the English Benedictine Congregation; chairman of the Pontifical Commission for the Revision of the Vulgate; cardinal in curia; and finally, librarian and archivist of the Holy Roman Church, he was part of many important movements but the center of none. The material available is immense in quantity, and much of it properly belongs to other histories or biographies, of which at least one, that of Archbishop Amigo of Southwark, is already in preparation. Sir Shane Leslie has wisely restricted himself to a memoir which traces the main outline of his subject's career, and provides a portrait that will do until more time has passed and those other books have appeared. It is based on the diaries of Gasquet, a fragmentary autobiography, and his immense correspondence. It contains the text of a memorandum by Gasquet on the Westminster succession of 1903, and a clear account of his great labor as allied representative at the Vatican during World War I. Written for those who already know a good bit about the subject, the book abounds in allusions to the great and near great in England and Rome. It has some very interesting comments on the Church in the United States as seen by Gasquet on two money-raising tours in 1904 and 1913, and some amusing *obiter dicta* on French seminaries, the Nine Fridays, etc. The tribute to Edmund Bishop and the analysis of Gasquet as an historian are of special value.

Besides an inadequate index, there are a few typographical errors and minor mistakes that do not detract from a very readable book, e.g., "closura" for "clausura" (p. 2); "galera" for "galerum" (p. 189); and Satolli's visit to the United States in 1904 being confused with his founding of the Apostolic Delegation at Washington in 1893.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

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AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY

The Catholic Church and the American Idea. By Theodore Maynard. (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc. 1953. Pp. vii, 309. $3.50.)

The title of this book touches upon one of the most timely topics of the day because the controversies over the schools and the bad movies

have brought into renewed focus the relationships between the largest single organized religious group in the United States and the nation itself. Maynard states his thesis rather bluntly: "However, we have to remember that the still larger number of non-churchgoing Americans—except for a few avowed agnostics—consider themselves Protestants in the sense of believing that their ancestors have made America what it is and that therefore they have a right to think of Catholics as newcomers who do not really belong. . . . For this Catholics themselves are largely to blame. . . ." (p. 4). Mr. Maynard is a convert of such long standing that, as he himself admits, he no longer thinks of himself as a convert; and he is also a naturalized American. Perhaps these facts are handicaps, for I doubt if this is the kind of book that would be written on this subject—if he would only write—by a young man whose boyhood recollections included attendance at Mass in the red brick Catholic church in Middletown. There are many interesting topics examined within this volume and several good observations are made, but the obvious lack of unity indicates that Mr. Maynard did not have a very clear notion of his prospective reader. Parts of the book seem to be written for non-Catholics, others for Catholics. Sometimes the author is writing history, with quite a few minor mistakes, and at other times he is writing apologetics beneath the theological level. There are undoubtedly many persons who will profit by the reading of this work, because Mr. Maynard is obviously trying to tell something that he himself has learned and now holds with definite conviction; but while the book is clearly written there is no spark to its style, nor climax to its exposition.

Maynard seems surprised that Puritanism was near Catholicism; actually Puritanism thought it was Catholicism, but purified. That the Puritans read some strange notions into their Catholicism is a story too long for the introductory pages of this volume. To say that Charles Carroll perceived that the "philosophy animating the other Founding Fathers was completely in consonance with Catholicism" (p. 19) is nonsense. That Jefferson was "in favor of public aid to religion" (p. 29) is a bit too strong since Jefferson was a deist. The statement that Stephen Badin was not learned compared to other missionaries of the West (p. 42) is a severe injustice to a man who took time out to prepare apologetical books, write Latin verses, and compose some of the best missionary letters that came from the Middle West. Neither does Maynard give any documentation for his statement that "as a general rule Irish priests showed no great inclination to go beyond the towns of the seaboard" (p. 51). He is very conscious of nationalities and races. This attitude is quite common among Europeans who think that only centuries in a locality, a

distinct language, and a rich literature can create a nation. They cannot, therefore, understand the United States as a nation. It is also fairly common among those whose ancestors have been of English descent—or English so long as records can be found—and who regard all non-English as foreigners. The truth that such nationalistic or racialistic facts, beyond the merest accidents, have nothing to do with religion is not practiced by Catholics any more than any other religious group, but it is a truth inherent in the Catholic faith. Isolationism, interventionism, nativism and the like—Catholic and non-Catholic—are evils that impede real Christianity and have very little to do with religion.

In his final essays Maynard apparently tries to bring together some general observations on the chief points of conflict at the present time. His treatment of Catholic education offers some interesting evaluations of seminary training and the sacrifices required by the Catholic school system, but actually nothing really new has been said about the Catholic school system since Father James A. Burns wrote nearly fifty years ago. In speaking of American culture, Catholics must recognize the existence of an American milieu, and if they have not been able to place their religious faith in that milieu, progress has been made and more can be made if the critics of American Catholic life will do more working and less theorizing. Maynard's observations on the Church and labor are not from his experience and might better have been left out. All told, then, I wonder what is the American idea; and whether these external manifestations of Catholicism in the United States should be called the Catholic Church.

THOMAS T. MCAVOY

University of Notre Dame

The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia, 1570-1572. By Clifford M. Lewis, S.J., and Albert J. Loomie, S.J. (Published for the Virginia Historical Society by the University of North Carolina Press. 1953. Pp. xviii, 294. $7.50.)

In 1934 the late Michael Kenny, S.J., published his *Romance of the Floridas*, an occasionally uncritical account of the Jesuit mission of 1570, which fixed the sites of the mission and martyrdom in the Potomac-Rappahannock region of Virginia. During the next three years John Tate Lanning's *Spanish Missions of Georgia* and Maynard Geiger's *Franciscan Conquest of Florida, 1573-1618* treated the same subject more briefly and critically, using, among other sources, the relation of Luis Gerónimo de Oré. Information in this last made Father Kenny's location untenable. The publication of the *Monumenta Antiquae Floridae* (Rome, 1946) by Félix Zubillaga, S.J., offered supplements and corrections applic-

able to *The Romance of the Floridas.* Fathers Lewis and Loomie have offered the present work as a better documented narration of the episode and as an attempt to establish the sites in question.

Part I (pp. 1-65) retells the history of the mission in a condensed fashion and essays the determination of all routes and locations. To better documentation are here added the advantages of intense geographical study, anthropological information, changes in Virginia topography and vegetation, and the study of practical navigation. The authors tested their reconstruction by cruising and travelling the routes and verifying directions and landmarks. By posting an average error of about 40′ in the better sources, they arrived at the following conclusions: (1) the missioners stopped to say Mass at Newport News, then proceeded on the James River to College Creek; (2) they carried their supplies to Queens or Kings Creek and paddled to a Chiskiac village on the York River; (3) the martyrdom of Quirós and his two companions occurred in Paspahegh territory near Jamestown; (4) the remaining Jesuits were killed at a village on the York; (5) when Menéndez came to the region in 1572 his anchorage was at Point Comfort and the Indians were punished at the mouth of College Creek. Parts II and III present a fuller statement of the evidence for this James-York hypothesis.

Part II (pp. 67-229) republishes documents originally edited by Father Zubillaga with some later material from Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., and the publications of the Florida Historical Society. However, the present work does expand their usefulness by printing Latin and Spanish texts together with excellent English translations and notes. Part III (pp. 239-271) is really a series of appendices. It contains notes on navigable waters and Indian settlements of Ajacán, an annotated list of maps of the Chesapeake area, and other points which are actually extensions of footnotes in the first section.

Fathers Lewis and Loomie apparently demolish any possibility of these events having taken place outside the boundaries of Virginia. Though they proceed on ground that grows progressively less secure, they establish an extremely strong case for the James-York region as the scene of these incidents; on smaller points they are less convincing. It is difficult to believe that Luis de Velasco had any direct connection with this mission, and the material which is included here on colonial Virginia's awareness of Spanish occupation carries more interest than conviction. Nevertheless, unless the 1566 report of Menéndez de Aviles to St. Francis Borgia and the missionary letters of 1570-1571 be found, the work under review appears to be as definitive as any we are likely to receive.

MICHAEL B. MCCLOSKEY

Siena College

Franciscan Beginnings In Colonial Peru. By Antonine Tibesar, O.F.M. (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. [Monograph Series, I.] 1953. Pp. xviii, 162. $4.00.)

The activities of the Franciscans in New Spain are well chronicled and available, while their work in Peru, particularly in the sixteenth century, has gone unrecognized. Father Tibesar, in this first volume of a new monograph series on Franciscan history, attempts to fill at least a part of that gap in our knowledge. It appears incredible to one not specifically associated with Franciscan history that the void in this field should be so great, yet close scrutiny reveals that Father Tibesar is quite correct in stating early in Chapter I: ". . . the student who is interested in the part played by the Franciscans experiences the greatest difficulty in finding proof that the Franciscans were even present" (p. 3).

Father Tibesar has used manuscript materials, particularly from the Franciscan archives in Peru, as well as printed documentary and secondary sources. In many cases the manuscript material he uncovered sheds new light on the few existing references to the beginnings of the order in Peru. This is very striking in the first chapter of the volume where the Franciscan activities in the days of the Pizarros is discussed, or better said, argued.

The reader of this work will find to his pleasure that this is not institutional hagiography. Father Tibesar, as far as this reviewer can determine, is objective, presenting the situation as he finds it. Nowhere is this more apparent than in Chapter III where he assesses the early work of the order as "not significant," because of the vagabond character of the work of the missionaries (p. 43). Later he develops a most forthright and interesting institutional problem, that of adapting the Franciscans to *doctrina* or parish work. The conflict was two-fold: first, the internal contradiction of the order, which demanded community life on the one hand and was faced with the adjustment to parish work and a non-community life on the other; second, the well known problem between the regular and secular clergy over the question of retention or loss of the administrative control of the *doctrinas*. Chapter VI chronicles the spread of the *doctrinas* under Franciscan control in the last third of the sixteenth century, particularly with reference to the reforms of Viceroy Toledo; Chapter VII narrates the organizational structure of the Franciscan system both spiritual and material, and briefly notes the methods of the Franciscans in indoctrinating the Indians in the tenets of the Catholic faith.

There is no doubt that Father Tibesar has produced an excellent piece of research in this volume, one that will be of interest and in certain instances prove provocative to the specialists in this field. Yet this purpose had been partly served by the fact that originally this work was pub-

lished as a doctoral dissertation at the Catholic University of America. It seems to this reviewer that there is a larger purpose to be served by authors and publishers alike, that of developing interest among younger students and historians other than Hispanists, which could be advanced by less pedantic and less formidable productions. With a greatly elongated and more picturesque narrative, with the larger background of the conquest and the tumultuous first years of Peru added, this volume would serve such a purpose without detracting from the scholarly contribution that it presently makes.

MARTIN J. LOWERY

De Paul University

The Catholic Indian Missions and Grant's Peace Policy, 1870-1884. Peter J. Rahill. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1953. Pp. xx, 396. $4.25, paper; $5.00, cloth.)

This book presents the first extended account of the establishment of the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions. President Grant's Peace Policy of 1870, i.e., the arbitrary assignment of different Indian tribes to the exclusive care and instruction of various religious denominations, revealed the critical need for an official body to represent the Catholic cause. The primary role of the bureau was that of a prominent liaison agency to present and protect Catholic interests before the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Father Jean-Baptiste Abraham Brouillet and his remarkable lay coworker, Mr. Charles Ewing, emerge as the heroes of the narrative. Ewing devoted himself to the endless task of defending the rights of the Catholic Indian missions before unsympathetic, time-serving politicians. His priestly colleague assumed the perennially unavoidable and chronically distasteful burden of collecting money to support the work. Both men labored themselves to death. Those in less spectacular roles receive adequate and honest mention. The cautious approval of James Roosevelt Bayley, Archbishop of Baltimore; the zealous fund-raising of Mrs. William T. Sherman; the psychopathic opposition of James A. McMaster's *Freeman's Journal,* and the invidious discrimination of Indian Office functionaries combine to make an enlightening contribution to the history of federal Indian policy and American Catholicism.

I am truly surprised, however, by the number of typographical errors that alert proof-reading would have detected. One ordinarily attentive reader noted: plantive for plaintive (p. 42), lost for cost (p. 136), any for an (p. 307), disparged for disparaged (p. 318). The date, September 27, 1839, (p. 23, note 56) appears more correctly as 1869 in the source

cited. The inaccuracies perpetuated in this book are cause for no less wonder. Father G. Adolphe Vermeersch, S.J., is described (p. 37) as teaching school among the Umatilla Indians in 1871. Father L. Vermeesch [cf. Edwin V. O'Hara, *Catholic History of Oregon* (Portland, 1916), p. 114] did teach there, but he was not a Jesuit. The first Jesuit at the Umatilla mission, Urban Grassi, came in 1888; and in the entire 113-year history of the Jesuits in the Pacific Northwest there has never been one named Vermeersch. The Fred Verschweiler, S.J. (p. 99, note 66) is Father Frederick Eberschweiler, S.J. A passing reference to the reviewer's *The Jesuits in Old Oregon* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1945) would have prevented these mistakes.

Inexactitudes such as these cast doubt—undeserved, perhaps—upon a work that gives other evidences of painstaking research. The book will prove useful to those who wish to enlarge their knowledge of federal Indian policy since 1870; and subsequent researchers will find real help in this pioneer effort.

WILLIAM N. BISCHOFF

Gonzaga University

The Irish Catholic Benevolent Union. By Sister Joan Marie Donohoe. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 229. $2.50.)

In the years before commercial life insurance and labor unions came to maturity, fraternity and benevolent organizations served to cushion the working classes against the impact of sickness, death, and simple loneliness. In the United States the Gilded Age was inevitably the golden age of such societies. In this lucid and candid study Sister Joan Marie Donohoe has described the rise and decline of a benevolent organization second only to the Ancient Order of Hibernians in Irish-American affairs.

From its founding in Dayton, Ohio, in 1869 until the politics of temperance reform divided its membership and sapped its vitality in the 1890's, the Irish Catholic Benevolent Union was engaged at various times in such projects as fraternal life insurance, immigrant aid and colonization, as well as in offering relief to the victims of floods and epidemics. The effort to colonize the urban Irish poor on farms in Minnesota, Virginia, and Kansas was the most ambitious undertaking of the Union. When the experiment was tottering in 1878 the Reverend Thomas Butler, the Union's chief colonization enthusiast, lamented that the Irish were too sentimental; that they would rather contribute to Irish national causes than invest in his joint stock company. As the history of other colonization attempts suggests, however, without government aid, along the lines of the bill

General Benjamin F. Butler submitted to Congress in 1878, no significant movement of the city poor to homesteads could have been accomplished. Moreover, the Irish here, like most Americans, preferred the city; and if we knew more about the urban Irish communities we should probably learn that their choice involved more than sentimentality.

Many of the projects attempted by the I.C.B.U. failed or were indifferently successful. Its chief work and, of course, its fundamental purpose was to provide sick and death benefits to members. In the depression year ending in 1878, $125,000 was distributed. But, as the author is aware—though she stresses it less than would this reviewer—the Union was also a pressure group charged with responsibility to defend and advance the status of the Irish in the United States. For many of the society's leaders this was a more important consideration (and one involving their own political ambitions) than the philanthropy of Father Butler, or the aberrant views of Anthony Keiley, for many years the Union's president, on the public school question.

Making excellent use of the I.C.B.U. *Journal* and the personal papers of its energetic editor, Martin I. J. Griffin, the author has generally limited her study to the national organization and has seen it largely from the vantage point of Griffin. This approach has much to recommend it; but it tends to lessen the scope of the study and inhibits understanding of the Union in its dynamic relations with groups of similar concerns, such as labor unions, Irish nationalist organizations, and German Catholic societies. Within these limitations, however, this is a most interesting and useful study.

THOMAS N. BROWN

University of Notre Dame

Erzbischof Friederich Xaver Katzer: Ebensee-Milwaukee, 1844-1903. By Franz Loidl. (Wien: Verlag Julius Lichtner, 1953. Pp. 72.)

In this biographical sketch Dr. Loidl of the University of Vienna combines factual reporting with some premature interpretative conclusions. The work is informative rather than enlightening. Motivated by patriotism, the booklet is colored by this sentiment which, indeed, may provide a key to the personality and character of Archbishop Katzer, but which also may interfere with an adequate interpretation of some major issues in his career.

The biography stresses Katzer's family, his birth at Ebensee in Upper Austria, and his schooling at Gmunden and Linz. Then follow outlines of his career as professor of philosophy and dogmatic theology at St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, vicar-general and Bishop of Green Bay, and

Archbishop of Milwaukee. Added sections notice his European journeys, characteristics, and death.

Archbishop Katzer possessed keen intellectual and sensitive powers, which had been stimulated by the schools he attended, his scenic homeland, and European conditions. He exhibited an exceptional poetic product and analysed pseudo-liberalism in a brilliant manner. However, his temperament and the psychological issues in his career produce no ordinary problem for the historian who is trying to reach a satisfactory judgment. So the interpretative features in this work are liable to undergo a good deal of qualification, particularly because of the publication of recent research which treats highly controversial subjects like the Catholic school question, Cahenslyism, and Americanism. Indeed, Katzer made contributions to all these matters, but at present it is not practicable to assess them in the fixed value which has been assigned to them by the author. By his acceptance of Americanism as a prevalent heresy, Dr. Loidl also unwittingly abets those who have thrown up an iron curtain between Catholics in the United States and those elsewhere.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

St. Francis Seminary
Milwaukee

Peter E. Dietz, Labor Priest. By Mary Harrita Fox. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. 1953. Pp. xiv, 285. $4.75.)

Shortly after the death of Father Dietz in October, 1947, this REVIEW carried a brief article based on his correspondence with John Mitchell which served as a lengthy eulogy. His name had been recalled some time before by Dr. Aaron I. Abell, who when the Dietz Papers became available at the German Catholic Central Verein in St. Louis—in addition to other documents in family hands—put Sister Mary Harrita of Mundelein College to work on them for the doctorate in history. This handsomely published volume, although over-priced, especially for one lacking an index, is the result.

Born on New York's East Side, where many a rebel against American society arose, Peter Dietz went through early religious trials. He was trained with the Society of the Divine Word in Germany and was ordained in 1904, but for the Diocese of Cleveland. Equipped with a keen ability to arouse people against social injustice, he fitted into a special place in the American Church of his period as a trail blazer for the cause of the workingman and for Catholic social work. He first turned to the Central Verein where he served as English editor of their journal from 1910 to 1911 as well

as a promoter of institutes and summer schools before he split with the director. Dietz next channeled his energies into the American Federation of Catholic Societies which was at the time busily engaged in battling socialism, and he persuaded this loose convention-holding organization to set up a Social Service Commission of which he became secretary. In that capacity he continued until 1918, arranging and attending meetings, lecturing, preparing press releases, and carrying on a wide correspondence. He had meanwhile taken on another function in 1910 when his contacts with organized labor on the highest level gave birth to the Militia of Christ for Social Service, an organized attempt to bring the teaching of *Rerum novarum* to bear on the American scene.

By 1911 Dietz found it necessary to seek release from parish work and under these conditions he was adopted by Archbishop Messmer for the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. In the functioning of the Militia what Dietz had intended as an effort to strengthen Catholic trade union sentiment also stirred up strong socialist and some Catholic resentment. It was his desire, too, to work closely with the religious unions of the continent and, accordingly, he tried to foster amity toward the confessional groups among the leaders of the A. F. of L. His friendship with these men was such that he proposed in 1915 that the Social Service Commission and the labor federation set up joint committees for the study of social problems of interest to both the Church and labor, but his attempt met with a refusal. Within Catholic circles the effort to unite more effectively groups which were striving for social reform failed and the whole American Federation of Catholic Societies continued to totter even after its reorganization in 1917. The federation was finally replaced by the National Catholic War Council, but Dietz was given no policy-making role in its new Social Action Department.

In the establishment of an American Academy of Christian Democracy for Women at Hot Springs, North Carolina, in 1915 Dietz paved the way for a break with Bishop Peter J. Muldoon of Rockford, the episcopal head of his Commission. On that new site he struggled to enter the field of training young Catholic women for social work. In the following year he moved the institution to Cincinnati where he tried to give it the character of a "labor college" with an appeal for trade union students. In Cincinnati he entered into union-management affairs until Archbishop Moeller, as the author sees it—under pressure of the Chamber of Commerce—forced him out, despite the protest of the highest labor leaders in the country. Again Dietz sought a haven in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee in 1923, and as pastor of St. Monica's Parish at Whitefish Bay he built up a model congregation, remaining only on the fringes of the Catholic social movement until his death twenty-four years later.

Any book which tells the story of so long forgotten a pioneer is a welcome addition to the literature of American social Catholicism and the labor movement. It is unlike the usual thesis in the lightness of effort that is demanded in reading the narrative; the documentation is noted at the end of the book. There is an honest evaluation of Dietz's character—with the possible exception of the failure to explain why he did not inform Bishop Muldoon about the plans for a school when he moved to Hot Springs (p. 149).

This is a biography from family papers all the way through, since no other collection or institutional records were consulted, nor is any refusal of admission to such noted. Thus Archbishop Moeller is simply villain, although the NCWC's Social Action Department had begun the opposition to the anti-union open shop drive in which Dietz had become involved, and Moeller was friendly to the national organization. Similarly no attempt is made to get behind the Bishop of Rockford's reason for thinking Dietz unequal to a place in the post-war framework. Muldoon's reference to the priest's "pronounced stand on labor unions" (p. 141) explains nothing since that, too, described John A. Ryan. Perhaps the legislative features of the Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction of 1919 had left Dietz behind in his sincere but simple faith in the A. F. of L. voluntarism which he showed later by being upset at the emergence of the C. I. O.

The author's critical approach is lost in the attempt to evaluate Dietz's work rather than his person. After a recital of failure, it is claimed that he kept the A. F. of L. out of the socialistic Amsterdam federation in 1919 (pp. 93, 227). Similarly he is pictured as best qualified to guide a comprehensive Catholic social program, and then a list of personal failings reveal what an inept choice he would have been (pp. 223, 227-228). Again he is said to have influenced the present-day Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, but its founders knew nothing of him, and beyond such externals as a religious celebration of Labor Day, his Militia was very different from an ACTU which opposes the Catholic bloc concept and emphasizes training for the rank and file unionists (pp. 44-45, 141). The priest is said to have fathered Catholic industrial conferences, but unlike their present counterparts, Dietz's groups did not seem to have included members from the management side (p. 75). His own laments on the lack of co-operation and the tangible results of the Militia might well have balanced the author's roseate picture drawn by her mostly from its prospectus, even as it was in his own day by hostile socialists.

Nonetheless, Sister Harrita's attempts to prove too much should not detract from the true value of the book; nor should such errors as 1923 instead of 1903 for the Goldstein-Avery break with socialism (p. 27),

1913 for 1903 for the death of Leo XIII, Farelly for Farrelly (p. 53), monk and abbey for friar and monastery (p. 249), and the omission of many identifications and much background information. In that category there might be mentioned the name of Patrick J. Donahue, the Bishop of Wheeling, who was hostile to the miners' union in West Virginia (p. 76), and the story of the weakness of the old Federation of Catholic Societies because of an executive secretary who, as Dietz put it, was too busy flattering the bishops to help them to understand the lay mind (p. 139).

Father Dietz was an extraordinary man born, perhaps, out of due time, but it is a poetic exaggeration to say that his work lives on (p. 228). As an organizer and as a priest friend of labor leaders he undoubtedly exercised an influence for social justice, but he left no books, students, or institution to be his lengthened shadow. Yet it was due time that history gave him his rightful recognition.

HENRY J. BROWNE

The Catholic University of America

GENERAL HISTORY

Natural Right and History. By Leo Strauss. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1953. Pp. x, 327. $5.00.)

In this expanded version of the six lectures he delivered at the University of Chicago in October, 1949, under the auspices of the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation, Professor Strauss has made an exceedingly important contribution to our contemporary knowledge of the much misunderstood subject of the natural law. In the book he has examined some very influential writers, summarized their conclusions, and indicated their fallacies and inconsistencies. Taking his departure from the standpoint of nineteenth-century historicism, which undertook to describe and to narrate events in sequence without evaluating their ultimate significance, the author follows with an original and profound critique of "the greatest social scientist of our century," Max Weber, and arrives at a rejection of the "ought," or ethical valuation by the latter, in preference for the "is," and facts alone. This concern with the "is," or with events as they occur, to the exclusion of their ultimate values or significance, results, as Professor Strauss shows, in a tolerance of views and a disinclination to come to logical conclusions about their validity, which yields only relativism. It cannot tell us anything worthwhile about human rights. In fact, Weber's thesis tends to a nihilism which would ultimately destroy the latter.

Comparably profound and, perhaps, as shocking, analyses of the writings of Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Edmund

Burke are provided in subsequent chapters. By the relentless use of logic he demonstrates that the solutions they propose are unsound. It is a brilliant exhibition of diamond cutting by which the flaws are exposed for the purchaser to beware. Surely, when this book makes its way, we shall be spared the prevalent repetition of hearsay to the effect that it is to these men that we owe our traditions of liberty.

If, however, our bills of rights have in fact older and more enduring foundations, where are the latter to be found? Professor Strauss reformulates the tradition of the natural law through Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, and Thomas Aquinas. In doing so he suggests a rereading of these sources with contemporary problems about facts and values—isness and oughtness—in mind. The chapter is written with much insight and learning. However, it appears to this reviewer as the least satisfactory in the book because there is so much more that it could and should say.

It is a source of continued embarrassment that in a century which has arrived at a rejection of positivism consequent upon the trials at Nuremburg, and at a distrust of sociological jurisprudence because of the use of the theory of communism as an instrument of tyranny by the Marx-Lenin-Stalin regime, no adequate contemporary literature is available about the natural law. Until a large number of original, honest, thorough, and competent publications are available which demonstrate what the principles of natural law have to offer in solving present-day problems, no general comprehension of the foundations of our liberty can be expected in this revolutionary age. It is Professor Strauss' merit to have provided a model of logical criticism covering several of the so-called leaders in the natural law field, which deserves the compliment of extensive imitation. To the extent to which his lead is followed, the prevailing gobbledygook will eventually be cut away and the foundations of a truly realistic philosophy of law and government for a twentieth-century world can be laid.

MIRIAM THERESA ROONEY

Seton Hall University

The Historian's Craft. By Marc Bloch. (New York: Alfred Knopf, Inc. 1953. Pp. xxi, 197. $3.00.)

The late Marc Bloch, who appears to have been interested as much in historiography as in history, was a man who sought what Jan Smuts would call a "holistic" picture of institutions, personalities, and ideas. In this brief volume he expresses the hope that the historian will subject himself to a thorough self-scrutiny as to the essence of his vocation and his use of the tools of his science. *The Historian's Craft* is not a new work, but a recent translation of the unfinished manuscripts of an intrepid resistance

fighter and esteemed French scholar, whose career ended on a June day in 1944, when he was shot in a field near Lyons by his Nazi captors, after suffering imprisonment and torture.

It was the hope of the author's dear friend and mentor, Lucien Febvre, that their combined efforts would one day produce what Bloch once called "a wider and more human history." They were to be the new Langlois and Seignobos, and their work was to be the "manifesto of a new generation, and the embodiment of an entirely different spirit." This volume, inasmuch as it is in the nature of fragmentary observations, is neither the realization of that dream, nor is it written in an entirely different spirit than the famous *Introduction aux études historiques;* but it does emphasize effectively the tremendous importance of epistemology in the observation, selection, and analysis of historical data.

In his presentation Bloch cites examples from a superb repertoire that is by no means limited to his own field of mediaeval history. One might question, however, such statements as the one that declares the mania for making judgments to be a "satanic enemy of true history," since the author himself admits that even the most accommodating of documents will answer correctly only if they are properly questioned. It is also questionable that the auxiliary disciplines with which Bloch expects the "new" historian to be conversant could be reasonably acquired by feasible training methods.

Bloch has by no means written a volume that solves the problems of historical writing, but he has in these essays presented an admirable awareness of the difficulties. "Peddlar" on page 109 should be either "peddler" or "pedlar"; "exigete" on page 85 should be "exegete."

ROBERT PAUL MOHAN

The Catholic University of America

Augustine to Galileo: The History of Science A. D. 400-1650. By A. C. Crombie. (New York: British Book Centre, Inc. 1953. Pp. xv, 436. $9.00.)

A. C. Crombie, lecturer in the history and philosophy of science at University College, London, has examined in this clearly written book the questions which men have been asking for centuries about the understanding of the natural world. By using excerpts and fitting quotations from a great number of thinkers, he has well illustrated this curiosity of the human mind in regard to scientific problems. As a starting point he outlines the difference between the activist attitude looking for new scientific apparatus and the stable thinking which found the inheritance of the Latin West quite satisfactory. Passing briefly through the awaken-

ing of scientific curiosity in early Christian writers like Cassiodorus and Bede, Crombie devotes a few but lucid pages to the observation of the particular as a permanent victory obtained through the philosophical outlook of Abélard. The transformation from the moralizing period to an attempt to give a rational explanation of creation is clearly described. In Chapter II the author examines the stores of Greek learning transmitted to western Christendom by the Arabs. The awakening tendency toward observation, this inheritance of the twelfth century, was applied in the thirteenth century to resolve the existing contradictions between Aristotle, Ptolemy, Galen, Averroës, and Avicenna. The mediaeval knowledge of cosmology, astronomy, chemistry, biology, meteorology, optics, mechanics, magnetism, and geology is analyzed in broad outlines. Crombie rightly points out that man was always the center of nature and that he admired God with greater veneration when contemplating the magnitude and permanence of His creation. Writing on the mediaeval criticism of Aristotle, the author sums up well the results of the latest publications of scholars like Boehner, Clagett, Gilson, A. Maier, and Pegis. In an easy-going style he tells us how the search for evident knowledge was diverted from the problems of metaphysics to the world of experience.

Reading this book, the adversaries of mediaeval civilization may come to realize that the mediaeval mind was not so credulous and limited as certain pseudo-historians would like to represent it. It achieved a kind of subtlety which was recovered only in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (the problem of infinity). Ironically enough it seems that it was fifteenth-century humanism which interrupted in a certain way the development of science by turning human interest from matter to literary style. It was the growth of the thirteenth and fourteenth century experimental methods which resulted in the so-called scientific revolution of the seventeenth century.

The volume is illustrated with tables showing e.g., the sources of ancient science in western Christendom, and the Aristotelian scale of nature. Reading this book, one is necessarily convinced that the great result of mediaeval scientific formation was the fact that there was no limit set to the mind's activity.

A. L. GABRIEL

University of Notre Dame

A History of Philosophy. Volume III. *Ockham to Suárez.* By Frederick Copleston, S.J. (Westminster: Newman Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 479. $5.00.)

Father Copleston continues here the comprehensive and almost encyclopedic history he began some years ago. After an introduction that is

at once a review and a preview, the text plunges into the *mare magnum* of fourteenth and fifteenth-century Scholasticism, continues through the philosophy of the Renaissance, both non-Scholastic and Scholastic, and comes to rest with a brief review (and self-criticism) of the first three volumes of the series. A short bibliography supplies for want of fuller references throughout the text; and a good index closes the book.

The student will find that this volume varies somewhat from its older partners. Owing, perhaps, to the very nature of the periods covered, the study becomes broad and comprehensive rather than deep and concentrated. Instead of lengthy treatment of several outstanding philosophers with minor lights saluted in passing, this volume must perforce, apart from some six solid sections on William Ockham and two on Francisco Suárez, devote much space to general movements and the many lesser thinkers who shared therein. Thus the scientific movements of late Scholasticism and the Renaissance and the new philosophy of nature receive a large and energetic treatment. Yet while political trends and speculative mysticism are not overlooked, one would wish for greater detail on the humanism and the Christian humanists of the Renaissance, the relation of this new world to the older world of Scholasticism, and the attitude of Luther both to the scholastics and to humanism.

It is evident throughout that the author has had constant recourse to the primary sources, the texts and writings of the men here studied; the book is no re-working of older histories. Perhaps the most valuable contribution it makes is to be found in the close analysis of the thought, political as well as metaphysical, of William Ockham (here credit is given where credit is due; cf. the foreword), and the two chapters on Suárez which concentrate respectively on his metaphysics and philosophy of law.

If the length of these volumes almost automatically preclude their general use as college or seminary textbooks, they are invaluable aids to both teacher and student for the depth and breadth of their content.

IGNATIUS BRADY

Franciscan Institute

Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death. By Millard Meiss. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1951. Pp. xiv, 194. 169 plates. $12.50.)

This handsome volume contains a brief (165 pages) statement and demonstration of the author's thesis about the relation of art with ideas and emotions prevalent at the place and period of the title. This is followed by an elaborate index and by 169 excellent reproductions of the paintings discussed in the text.

The thesis is that in these two cities there came a break in the continuity of technical development after 1350, that this was not merely the normal result of the ever-recurring search for new departures, that it was intimately related with profound changes that came about in men's habits of thought and feeling as a result of the Black Death and accompanying phenomena in the economic, social, and political scene. He finds that "guilt, penance and religious rapture" became dominant in the interests of the time. Mr. Meiss states, "Though religious thought throughout the Middle Ages had dwelt on the brevity of life and the certainty of death, no age was more acutely aware of it than this" (p. 74). This is reflected in the subjects chosen for representation by the painters and their patrons, by the turn of mind with which they conceived their subjects—Christ represented as an angry judge, turning in wrath toward the damned rather than in welcome to the saved, etc.—and even by the techniques to which they resorted which set them abruptly apart from the followers of Giotto and Duccio and from the painters of the next generation. A quotation from the author's introduction may serve to illustrate this:

> A certain kind of adverse criticism of the work of Giotto and his followers was certainly common at this time in the paintings themselves. Every one of the younger masters after 1345-1350 rejected, at least in part, Giotto's most easily imitable accomplishment, linear perspective. None attempted to rival the equilibrium in his art between form and space, or his supple figures moving freely in a measured, easily traversible, receptive world (p. 6).

This rather subtle concept is handled not only in generalities but with dozens of specific references to the pictures reproduced and with a command of literary as well as artistic learning that is admirable in its extent and original in its application.

A chapter on the Spanish Chapel in Santa Maria Novella suggests comparison with Ruskin's on the same subject in *Mornings in Florence*. Reading the two measures the enormous changes that have taken place in approach to these subjects. The chapter on the conversion of Boccaccio brings out in an individual personality, whose biography is known, the tension and conflict which underlay unconsciously the subject matter and the form of the painting of this time.

JOHN K. CARTWRIGHT

St. Matthew's Cathedral
Washington

Goya's Caprichos. By José López-Rey. Two Volumes. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1953. Pp. xv, 224; xiv, 265 plates. $12.50.)

We are really indebted to López-Rey for this comprehensive and convenient presentation of the Caprichos, along with their preparatory draw-

ings, the two antecedent sketchbooks (so far as known), and other related material. Such a body of illustrations for Goya's great graphic series is surely destined to a long period of usefulness in libraries and classrooms. The volume of text provides a lucid and reliable guide to the rather complex and extremely varied subject matter into which the Caprichos take us. On the whole, the author succeeds in handling his difficult and often risqué matter with remarkable dignity, clarity, and detachment. It might have been just as well if he could have become less involved in the threadbare theme of Goya's relations to the Duchess of Alba, but this theme seems to have a fatal fascination for nearly all writers on Goya, even though they have nothing new to say about it. Careful as he is, López-Rey skirts on an inconsistency, for on page 6 he states flatly: "In the drawing entitled *Dream of Living and Inconstancy*, Goya represented himself grasping the arm of the fickle, two-faced Duchess of Alba . . .," but by page 168 ff. it is clear he is less certain of the specific identification of the two-faced lady. Perhaps this vacillation is a tribute to Goya's mastery of "such stuff as dreams are made of."

The title pages of the two volumes have in the lower left-hand corners as sub-titles, or we might say marginalia, the words: *Beauty, Reason & Caricature*. With these words the author has well tagged the Caprichos as he sees them, for he conceives the evolution of the Caprichos as an evolution "from beauty to caricature." In his chapter of that title he substantiates his conception with most interesting material on the physiognomic enthusiasm of the time, to which Goethe fell prey, though the most important influence on Goya's *milieu* seems to have been Lavater. The word "Reason" is no less appropriate, for the main contention of the book is that Goya's Caprichos reflect throughout the rationalist attitude of the eighteenth century. The absurdities and immoralities of the Caprichos are warning examples of the departure from reason. One of the best known Caprichos bears the caption, "The sleep of reason produces monsters." And in his holograph manuscript (Prado) explaining the series Goya has written of this print: "Imagination, deserted by reason, begets impossible monsters. United with reason, she is the mother of all arts, and the source of their wonders."

JOHN SHAPLEY

The Catholic University of America

NOTES AND COMMENTS

The Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America has received the personal papers of the late Bishop Francis J. Haas, former dean of the University's School of Social Science, from the Diocese of Grand Rapids, where he died on August 29, 1953, as sixth bishop of that see. These records are made up of files of letters, scrapbooks, and dossiers of personal materials touching on many aspects of the bishop's work and branching out from the University in conjunction with various groups dealing with industrial and social questions. After receiving his doctorate at the Catholic University of America in 1922 Father Haas served in the Milwaukee area on the civil service commission, old age pension board, and as an arbitrator in the newspaper industry. In the early 1930's he directed the old National Catholic School of Social Service and then was rector for two years of St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, his alma mater, until he returned to the University in 1937 as dean and professor of economics. He remained there until his consecration as Bishop of Grand Rapids in 1943. While in the capital he worked on the N.R.A. and the National Labor Relations Board, did arbitration work in several industries, was a member of the National Resources Planning Board, and head of the Fair Employment Practices Commission.

The work of Bishop Haas has always been closely linked with that of the late Monsignor John A. Ryan under whom he had been a student. The private papers of the bishop, which record so much of his educational work as well as his efforts in the broader field of social action, are now available for research at the Catholic University of America together with those of Monsignor Ryan.

Through the kind co-operation of the Most Reverend Raymond P. Hillinger, Bishop of Rockford, the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America has acquired a microfilm copy of the diary of Peter J. Muldoon (1863-1927), the first Bishop of Rockford. The diary runs from January, 1901, six months before he was consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of Chicago, to June, 1926, a year and some months before the bishop's death. The leadership which Bishop Muldoon showed in social questions makes this diary of more than ordinary interest to the student of twentieth-century American Catholicism. The role which he played in the early part of the century in such offices as chairman of the Social Service Commission of the American Federation of Catholic Societies made him a well known figure, but the bishop's most enduring claim to fame was probably won by his leadership of the National Catholic

War Council in the days of World War I and his efforts in establishing the National Catholic Welfare Conference, of whose Social Action Department he was the first chairman.

At a reception in his home in Indianapolis on March 30, Frank Duffy, former secretary of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners Union of the America Federation of Labor, presented his personal papers to the archives of the University of Notre Dame. Representing the University on the occasion was the Reverend James Norton, C.S.C., a vice president who has been a personal friend of Mr. Duffy for many years. Mr. Duffy was born in Ireland May 6, 1861, came to New York in the 1880's and became active in union organization almost immediately. He was for many years editor of *The Carpenters,* the union publication.

The annual Spring Work Shop, under the supervision of the Indiana Historical Bureau, was held at Canyon Inn, McCormick's State Park, April 11-14 under the supervision of Hubert H. Hawkins, the state director. The general topic of the Work Shop was "The Pioneer Church in Indiana." Thomas T. McAvoy, C.S.C., of the University of Notre Dame spoke on "The Pioneer Church in Indiana—the Catholics" at the morning session on April 11.

The United States Catholic Historical Society of New York is currently conducting a drive for new members. This second oldest existing American society devoted to furthering the history of the Catholic Church in this country was organized in December, 1884, at the inspiration of John Gilmary Shea. Its yearly membership fee of $5.00 entitles the member to receive not only the annual volume entitled *Historical Records and Studies* but monographs which the society also publishes. To date there have been forty-one volumes of the former and twenty-five volumes in the monograph series. Interested parties may address the secretary of the society at Suite 103, 924 West End Avenue, New York City 25.

A twenty-three-page pamphlet by Howard Pecham, formerly director of the Indiana Historical Bureau and now director of the Clements Library at Ann Arbor, entitled *L'heritage français dans la vallée du Mississippi,* has been published in France and distributed to French school children as a gesture of international good will. Copies may be obtained at the Indiana Historical Bureau at Indianapolis.

The University of Notre Dame has announced a new liberal arts program for students in the College of Arts and Letters to begin with the freshman class in September, 1954. The trend of the new program is toward general education with special emphasis on the role of theology

and philosophy. Western European history and the history of the United States are retained as part of the basic humanities course of the first two years.

The preliminary plan of organization for the tenth International Congress of Historical Sciences which is to be held in Rome on September 4-11, 1955, has been issued. The congress will be divided into five major sections: methodology, general history, and the auxiliary sciences of history; antiquity; the Middle Ages; modern history; and contemporary history. Readers of the REVIEW will find some familiar names among the members of the committee in charge of assigning topics in the various fields, e.g., Merle Curti of the University of Wisconsin in "Trends in American History"; Gaines Post of Wisconsin in "Palaeography and Diplomatics"; Professor Giulio Battelli of the Pontifical School of Palaeography, Diplomatics, and Archives in "History of Sources: the Archives of the Vatican"; Monsignor Johann Jedin of the University of Bonn *et al* in "The Idea of the Church in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." Abbé Roger Aubert of the Catholic University of Louvain, Professor J. B. Duroselle of the University of Paris, Etienne Delaruelle of the Catholic Institute of Toulouse, and Arturo Carlo Jemolo of the University of Rome are listed under "The Religious Liberalism of the Nineteenth Century."

A recently published booklet by Herbert Cieslik, S.J., entitled *Gotō Juan*, is a gem of historical research in mission history (38 pp. Administration der neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft, Schoneck-Berkenried, Switzerland, Sfr. 2.40). Appearing in the mission history of Japan for only a brief span of years from *ca.* 1613 to 1624, Gotō Juan was a Japanese Catholic, a scion of the Samurai nobility. What is known of him is that he served his country in an eminent way, making waste land fertile for rice culture and thus helping the poor Japanese, mostly Christians, to make a living. For that reason he became famous among his countrymen. During the fierce persecution of 1613 and after, Gotō Juan gave an outstanding example as a faithful Catholic that brought to him by reason of his high position banishment and most probably death for his faith. Data on his life are scarce, yet Father Cieslik's diligent search, comparison, and evaluation of the sources has produced an able essay on this noble man who was a lay apostle of the highest type in behalf of Catholicism in Japan.

This year saw the appearance of a new review of at least partial historical content, CARMELUS, *commentarii ab Instituto Carmelitano editi.* This review, published twice a year by the Institute for Carmelite Studies (via Sforza Pallavicini, 10, Roma, Italy), at a subscription price of $3.00

per annum, has in part taken over the function of the *Analecta ordinis Carmelitarum* and will publish studies on the history of the Carmelite Order, as well as studies in Mariology and mystical theology, fields of particular interest to the order. Besides original essays, *Carmelus* will feature unedited texts, book reviews, and an annual bibliography of Carmelitana of the preceding year. Of interest to historians in the first issue are "I Carmelitani e la certezza dello stato di grazia nel Concilio Tridentino," by Luigi M. Poliseno, O.Carm., and "Some Unpublished Documents concerning Fray Antonio Vázquez de Espinosa," edited by Joachim Smet, O.Carm. The Institute for Carmelite Studies was erected in 1951 by decree of the prior general, the Most Reverend Kilian E. Lynch, O.Carm. The historical section of the institute has inaugurated a series, Textus et studia historica Carmelitana, of which the first volume has appeared: Ludovico Saggi, O.Carm., *La Congregazione Mantovana dei Carmelitani sino alla morte del B. Battista Spagnoli (1516)* (Roma, Institutum Carmelitanum, 1954, pp. lviii, 348.) Volume II of the series will appear this fall: *The Life of Saint Peter Thomas* by Philippe de Mézières, edited from hitherto unpublished manuscripts with an introduction and notes by Joachim Smet, O.Carm.

A new *Journal of Transport History* has been launched at University College, Leicester, under the editorship of Professor Jack Simmons. It is to appear twice a year at a subscription cost of eighteen shillings *per annum.*

The thesis of E. Joyce Chaplin, *A Study of the Text, Sources, and Influence of the Crónica de Enrique Octavo,* is summarized in the November *Bulletin* of the Institute of Historical Research. The author has used manuscripts that contain more material than the printed edition of 1874. One of them has twenty additional chapters.

The March, 1954, *Annals* of the American Academy of Political and Social Science is devoted to "Bureaucracy and Democratic Government."

John T. Farrell, professor of American history in the Catholic University of America, has received a grant from the Ford Foundation Fund for the Advancement of Education. Dr. Farrell will spend the year 1954-1955 in a study of American diplomatic history.

Henry de Degenfeld-Schonburg, who has been a lecturer at the Catholic University of America in modern European history since 1948, has retired from active teaching and has been named a research associate in history by the university. Dr. Degenfeld-Schonburg expects to divide his time between the United States and Europe.

Marshall Smelser of the University of Notre Dame has been named to lecture on the Walgreen Foundation at the University of Chicago in May, 1955.

John R. Betts is resigning his position as assistant professor in American history at Tulane University to become a member of the staff of Boston College.

Edward W. Kearney, who for the past four years has taught at Loyola University, Chicago, has been appointed instructor in history at John Carroll University for the autumn term.

Robert Speaight has been appointed by the literary executors of Hilaire Belloc to write his biography. Mr. Speaight would appreciate receiving any Belloc correspondence or other materials c/o his publisher, Hollis and Carter Ltd., 25 Ashley Place, London, S.W.1, England.

In the March number of the *Cambridge Journal* Arnaldo Momigliano writes a twelve-page appreciation of the late Professor Michael I. Rostovtzeff and his work.

Pierre Charles, S.J., missiologist and professor of dogmatic theology at the Jesuit College in Louvain, died on February 11 at the age of seventy-one. An obituary notice of him appears in the March issue of the *Nouvelle revue théologique.*

The death of Father Constantino Bayle, S.J., director of the Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogroviejo of Madrid and editor of *Missionalia Hispanica,* its review, occurred on February 20, 1953. The deceased was widely known for his contributions to the history of Spain in America, and particularly to the missionary activities of the Spanish Church.

Robert Howard Lord, pastor of St. Paul's Church, Wellesley, Massachusetts, died on May 22 at the age of sixty-eight. Monsignor Lord received his undergraduate education at Northwestern and Harvard Universities, taking the A.B. degree at the latter in 1906. Following his graduation from college, he pursued graduate studies at Harvard, and as part of his doctoral program spent two years abroad attending lectures and doing research work at the Universities of Vienna, Berlin, and Moscow before returning to take the Ph.D. degree at his alma mater in 1910. He began his teaching at Harvard in the same year as an instructor in history and rose to the rank of full professor in 1924. Professor Lord's

field of specialization was the history of modern Poland and his monograph, *The Second Partition of Poland* (Cambridge, 1915), revealed so fine a mastery of Poland's eighteenth-century history, and of its language, that it won him an appointment to the American Commission to Negotiate Peace at Paris, with which he served from December, 1918, to September, 1919, at the same time acting as the American civilian member on the first inter-allied mission to Poland in February-April, 1919. Among the books which he published during his Harvard professorship were—with Charles H. Haskins—*Some Problems of the Peace Conference* (Cambridge, 1920), *The Origins of the War of 1870* (Cambridge, 1924), and—with Harold J. Coolidge—*Archibald Coolidge: Life and Letters* (Boston, 1932).

Having been converted to Catholicism from the Protestant Episcopal Church, Professor Lord resigned his chair at Harvard in 1926 to enter St. John's Seminary, Brighton, with a view to studying for the priesthood. Following his ordination on April 5, 1929, Father Lord first served for a year as assistant pastor of St. Cecilia's Church, Boston, and was then appointed professor of church history at St. John's Seminary and in 1933 vice rector as well. He assumed the Wellesley pastorate in 1944. During his time at St. John's, Father Lord's major research undertaking was the three-volume work, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (New York, 1944), which took rank at once as the most thorough and scholarly history of any of the dioceses of the Catholic Church in the United States. He was the author of the first half of the second volume and all of the third volume, with the late Monsignor John E. Sexton as author of Volume I and Father Edward T. Harrington of Regis College, Weston, as author of the second half of Volume II.

Monsignor Lord was a man of deep and broad learning, gracious and gentlemanly manner, and sterling personal integrity. His loss will be sincerely felt by all who knew him, and the world of scholarship will especially regret that he did not live to complete his volume on the Catholic Reformation for the Rise of Modern Europe series being edited by William L. Langer, a task upon which he had been engaged for some years before his death. Among the honors which came to the learned priest-historian were an honorary doctorate from the University of Lwow, Poland, in 1921 and the rank of domestic prelate which was bestowed upon him by Pope Pius XII in 1950. In 1922 he served as president of the American Catholic Historical Association and in December, 1922, he delivered his presidential address at New Haven on the subject, "Belgium: A Study in Catholic Democracy."

Waldemar Gurian, professor of politics in the University of Notre Dame and managing editor of the *Review of Politics*, died on May 26 at

the age of fifty-two. Professor Gurian was educated at the Universities of Munich, Breslau, and Bonn, and took his Ph.D. degree at the University of Cologne in 1923, in which city he was also editor during 1923-1924 of the *Koelnische Volkszeitung*. He came to Notre Dame in 1937 with the rank of associate professor and two years later he joined with several of his colleagues in founding the quarterly *Review of Politics*, of which he continued to be the editor up to the time of his death. His principal field of research was the history of his native country, Russia—he was born in St. Petersburg—and that especially in the period since the revolution of 1917. His volume *Le Bolchevisme* (Paris, 1932) was followed by several other books on various aspects of Russian communism. Professor Gurian was also mainly responsible for the founding of Notre Dame's Committee on International Relations. Under the auspices of the committee he helped to plan a number of symposia and edited several volumes of their papers. The two most recent were the volume *Bolshevism: An Introduction to Soviet Communism* (Notre Dame, 1952) and *The Catholic Church in World Affairs* (Notre Dame, 1954), the latter being edited with M. A. Fitzsimons, associate professor of history at Notre Dame.

Professor Gurian was president of the American Catholic Historical Association in 1950 and chose as his presidential address at Chicago on December 30 of that year the subject, "Louis Veuillot," an excellent paper, which was published in the form of a documented article in the REVIEW in January, 1951. He was a truly learned man whose broad and resourceful mind was not only amply stored with factual data, but whose experiences in Europe and whose imagination and power of reasoning and interpretation made him a highly stimulating teacher and colleague.

A three-day celebration took place in Pittsburgh on April 29-30 and May 2 to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the first Mass in the area, which was said on April 17, 1754, by Father Denys Baron, chaplain to the French troops stationed at Fort Duquesne. The pontifical Mass in St. Paul's Cathedral on April 29 was celebrated by the Most Reverend John F. Dearden, Bishop of Pittsburgh, with Archbishop John F. O'Hara, C.S.C., of Philadelphia as the preacher. The Reverend John La Farge, S.J., of the staff of *America*, gave the principal address at the evening convocation on April 30, and on Sunday, May 2, the civic celebration closed with an outdoor observance under the auspices of the Knights of Columbus.

The entire affair owed much to the energy and imagination of John O'Connor, Jr., of the Carnegie Institute. Mr. O'Connor as president of the Catholic Historical Society of Western Pennsylvania has reacti-

vated the local group. The society sponsored for the event a reprint of the *Register of Fort Duquesne, 1754-1756,* which first appeared in John Gilmary Shea's Cramoisy Series. The 1885 translation and editing of Monsignor A. A. Lambing was used. The *Register* contained the names of the soldiers, Catholic settlers, and Indians as entered by the chaplain. The essay contest conducted by the society was won by Anna Marie Steubenrauch of Mount Mercy College for her contribution entitled "I Was with Father Denys Baron." Miss Steubenrauch's essay was printed in the *Pittsburgh Catholic* of May 6, 1954.

In connection with the celebration of the fourth centenary of its founding, the city of São Paulo, Brazil, is sponsoring a series of international congresses. The XXXI International Congress of Americanists will meet August 23-30. Professor Herbert Baldus, of the Museu Paulista, São Paulo, is chairman of the organizing committee. An International Congress of History will take place September 15-21. The organizing committee is made up of Dr. Eurípedes Simões de Paulo and Professor Eduardo d'Oliveira França, both of the University of São Paulo. The Second International Colloquium on Luso-Brazilian Studies (the first colloquium was held in Washington, D. C., in 1950) will also take place in São Paulo, on dates not yet set. Dr. Ernesto Leme, Rua Helvetia 49/55, São Paulo, is chairman of the organizing committee for the colloquium.

Documents: The first Franciscans in Chile. Founding of the Monasteries of Santiago and Concepción. Benjamin Gento Sanz (Ed.). (*The Americas,* Apr.).—Deux écrits de Pierre Poussines (Possinus) en l'honneur de S. François Xavier tirés des archives bollandiennes. Maurice Coens (*Analecta Bollandiana,* Tomus LXXI, Fasc. III et IV, 1953).—A Letter from the Marquis of Rockingham to Sir William Mayne on the Proposed Absentee Tax of 1773. J. E. Tyler (*Irish Histor. Studies,* Sept., 1953).—Mensaje de Su Excelencia el Jefe del Estado español a las Cortes con ocasión de la ratificación del Concordato. (*Razón y fe,* Dec.).

BRIEF NOTICES

DEARING, MARY R. *Veterans in Politics: The Story of the G.A.R.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1952. Pp. xiv, 523. $6.00.)

Undoubtedly this is the definitive study of that hydra-headed, "soldier of vengeance" pressure group, better known as the Grand Army of the Republic, or simply the G.A.R. This volume details the group's varying but vital impact upon national politics between 1865 and 1900. With an air of finality and judicious restraint Mrs. Dearing recaptures the Grand Army's villainies as well as its virtues. Extravagant and fraudulent pension claims by unscrupulous agents are highlighted, but never to the neglect of the society's many and important contributions to patriotism: successful campaigns to place an American flag atop schoolhouses and in classrooms, inauguration of flag salutes, and the custom of rising with bared heads at the opening bars of the "Star Spangled Banner." With finesse the author follows the "boys in blue" at their yarn-swapping encampments; indeed, she does not suppress the truth as more than one Civil War veteran ranges "from the rarified atmosphere of fine principles to the muddied paths of practical politics."

Frequently faint echoes of marching feet creep into this volume, and so do the torchlights and canteens of pre-election demonstrations. Less attractive but equally realistic are the wire-pulling antics of agitated and emotionally aroused veterans as they sport in the political arena. Though the "bloody shirt" propaganda of the Union warriors died a hundred deaths, it seemed to resurrect itself on the eve of every important election, state and national. The fraternal and charitable functions of the G.A.R. are duly noted, but it was the "vote as you shot" advice to veterans which almost always "evoked fear and respect" from politicians. This monograph, meticulously documented, well indexed, adequately illustrated, and above all carefully written, bids fair to stand unchallenged in a field where objectivity and scholarship have not been conspicuous. (HARRY J. SIEVERS)

DENNETT, RAYMOND and KATHERINE D. DURANT (Eds.). *Documents on American Foreign Relations.* Vol. XIII, *January 1-December 31, 1951.* (Princeton: Published for the World Peace Foundation by the Princeton University Press. Pp. xxiv, 626. $7.50.)

With the thirteenth volume the World Peace Foundation relinquishes its sponsorship of this series to the Council on Foreign Relations; hereafter, the volumes will appear complementary to the council's annual publication, *The United States in World Affairs.* The documents for 1951 include representative arguments from the so-called "great debate" on the issue of American military aid to Europe, which involved as well the issues of Europe vs. Asia in American defense plans, and the relative merits of a balanced armament as against concentration upon a strong strategic air force. This was the year of Mac-

Arthur's recall from Japan. In the background of all discussion was the reality of the Korean conflict. Tributes to the ideal of collective security and universal disarmament had an orientation in Soviet aggression during 1951, while the peace treaty with Japan and the accompanying security pacts for the Pacific area—as well as the implementation of similar policies in NATO, the Mediterranean area, and in the Middle East—served to emphasize departures from the original concept of "one world" in the United Nations. The editors have repeated once more their performance of fine editing up to a standard which ought to be maintained under the new sponsorship. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

DE VERGOTTINI, GIOVANNI. *Studi sulla legislazione imperiale di Federico II in Italia. Le leggi del 1200.* [Publicazioni straordinarie dell'academia delle scienze di Bologna. Classe di scienze morale. No. 11.] (Milano: Antonino Giuffre. 1952. Pp. vi, 282. L. 1500.)

This study of the legislation that Frederick II promulgated in 1220 on the occasion of his coronation in Rome should be of interest to others besides specialists in mediaeval law, for it touches on some of the major problems concerning the juridical foundations of imperial power and the relations of empire and papacy in the Middle Ages. The importance of the study of Roman and canon law, and of the inter-relations between them, in the investigation of such problems, has been pointed out recently by a number of scholars; the present work provides an excellent illustration of the value of such an approach. The laws are considered in three main groups—those relating to the "freedom of the Church" (immunity from secular jurisdiction and taxation), those dealing with the suppression of heresy, and those concerned with the protection of travellers, peasants, and shipwrecked mariners. The author is mainly concerned with the first two groups. He traces in detail the precedents for such legislation in the canon law of the preceding century and in the enactments of Frederick's predecessors; he then describes the background of ecclesiastical politics which provided the immediate context for the edicts of 1220. De Vergottini argues persuasively that the whole initiative in the framing of the laws, even those belonging to the third group, came from the papacy; but having shown that the content of the laws was inspired by the papacy, he devotes a long and interesting appendix to the implications of the "absolutist" form in which they were promulgated (*Fredericus . . . curavimus . . . edere quasdam leges, quas presenti pagina iussimus annotari . . .*). The final chapters provide a detailed analysis of the provisions of the laws and a discussion of their effectiveness. The whole study is presented as a preliminary fragment of a much larger work in progress which will deal with imperial legislation in Italy from Frederick Barbarossa down to Lewis the Bavarian; it will evidently be a work of major importance. It is to be regretted that the author did not think it necessary to equip this first installment with either a detailed table of contents or an index or a bibliography (though there is much valuable bibliographical material scattered in the footnotes). (BRIAN TIERNEY)

DUFFY, JOHN. *Epidemics in Colonial America.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1953. Pp. xi, 274. $4.50.)

This work can be best described as an accumulation of statistical data, although it is not strictly speaking medical statistics with which it is concerned, in the sense that the subject matter is reduced to numerical tables. The author, associate professor of history at Northwestern University, has culled the records of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, newspapers, diaries, contemporary histories, reports of the S.P.G. missionaries, for references to disease in the North American British colonies. On the basis of these notices, he has listed the times and places of epidemics of smallpox, diphtheria, and scarlet fever, yellow fever, and malaria, whooping cough, measles, mumps, and other infectious diseases that were of a sufficiently high degree of incidence to warrant the label epidemic. Each disease is treated chronologically. Documentation is thorough, and there is an adequate bibliographical note and an index. The work is of value chiefly as a condensed and systematized collection of source materials, since there is very little by way of interpretation of the facts collected. The book has its share of typographical errors: the Archbishop of Canterbury referred to on page 91 was Secker, not Becker; Burlington, New Jersey, not New York, was intended on page 81; the S.P.G. missionary at Stamford, Connecticut, was Ebeneezer Dibblee, not Dibbler (p. 63). Except for such minor errors, and a few cases of infelicitous footnoting (on pages 20 and 36 are citations to footnotes printed on other pages), the work seems to be an accurate and painstaking effort in a relatively untouched area of American social history. (WILLIAM M. HOGUE)

GOTTSCHALK, LOUIS. *Understanding History: A Primer of Historical Method.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1950. Pp. xix, 290, vi. $2.50.)

In eleven chapters Professor Gottschalk brings together, with considerable revision, his previous writings on historical method along with two chapters published for the first time. It is good to have in a single volume the revised thinking on this matter—and he has thought about it and taught it a great deal—of the President of the American Historical Association. He feels that available books on method are not very practical for beginners. Actually, the very humility of his own sub-title will be about as discouraging to the tyro as Beeson's *Primer of Medieval Latin* always proves to be. The book is intended for college and university students and for the general scholarly reader, but obviously the author hopes to reach teachers as well.

An idea of the book's construction can be gained from the fact that there is an index of names—of doubtful service—and no *index rerum;* the latter is replaced by a table of the headings, so numerous as to be almost a topic per page. With no waste of words, the author compresses his meditated reflections into the briefest possible space. He takes care of the technical terms of method in crisp definitions, though he reveals some little affection for the jargon of education and the social sciences. He has sensible observations on the obliga-

tion of the book reviewer, the use and abuse of footnotes, historical composition, and the problems of relevance and generalization. He introduces examples freely, some of them real, others invented. Dealing objectively with the various schools of historical writing, he rarely indicates his own attitude until he reaches the final chapter on the historian and the problems of the present. There he presents and strengthens what he wrote in 1945 in *The Use of Personal Documents in History, Anthropology and Sociology* (New York: Social Science Research Council, Bulletin 53, on the need of history to be practical and to co-operate with the social sciences.

Ancient, mediaeval, and church historians will find little in the book for their special fields. But aside from a few queer remarks about mediaeval writers on pages 12 and 13, there is nothing to offend them. The little book serves well the cause of history and should help teachers and students to write history better. The publisher has added an appendix of rules on the mechanics of preparing a paper for print. The format of the volume is excellent. (A. K. ZIEGLER)

GREEN, RENA MAVERICK (Ed.). *Samuel Maverick, Texan: 1803-1870. A Collection of Letters, Journals and Memoirs.* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley. 1953. Pp. xix, 430. $6.00.)

Samuel A. Maverick came to Texas in the fall of 1835 at the age of thirty-two, and immediately interested himself in the political and military problems of the land of his adoption. He was well educated and outspoken; he held emphatic views on most subjects and was definitely articulate in expressing them. Such men always leave an imprint on their handiwork; Maverick left his notably on the Declaration of Texas Independence, and on administrative and legislative affairs as Mayor of San Antonio and as a member of the Texas Congress. He had a variety of private interests; he speculated widely in lands and goods and even briefly entered the cattle industry thereby adding his family name *maverick* to the English language. He wrote many letters which covered a wide variety of subjects; he kept journals. His wife also wrote letters and memoirs in which she described all manner of daily events filling them with details of human interest. All these writings of husband and wife are interesting, if at times repetitious, some are forceful, and taken in their entirety cast interesting sidelights on the life of the early Texans.

Mrs. Green has assembled all these personal and family papers, most of which are now located in the archives of the University of Texas, and has edited them carefully. Using the *Memoirs* of Mary Maverick, which have been well known to historians and book collectors, to form the central framework around which the other family papers are arranged in proper chronological sequence, she has given the public a book which represents more than a family collection since the subject matter is of broad interest and particularly useful to the student of social history. She has made available in a single volume various interesting papers which have significance in the development of life in Texas. (JOSEPH SCHMITZ)

HAMON, JOSEPH. *Le Chevalier de Bonvouloir, premier émissaire secret de la France auprès du congrès de Philadelphie avant l'indépendence américaine.* [Extraits du Pays Bas-Normand. Nos. de 1948 à 1952.] (Paris: Jouve & Cie. 1953. Pp. 118.)

The unofficial representative of the court of France, Julien-Alexandre Achard de Bonvouloir et Loyauté, who first established contact with the Secret Committee of Correspondence in Philadelphia in December, 1775, brought to America the important assurance of a friendly interest on the part of the French government in the cause of the rebelling colonists; and he was the first to supply information to the effect that the French could be sure that the rebellion would result in a fight for independence. M. Hamon has established with precise detail Bonvouloir's background in Normandy—he was cadet of an ancient family of Norman nobles who lived in reduced circumstances—also the facts of his migration to Haiti about 1773, his quick perception of the importance to France of the affairs in North America, and his early introduction to the leaders of the Continental Congress. The young Norman aspired to a career which would combine diplomacy and arms with the forces of George Washington, but in this he met with disappointment mainly because his patron was the Comte de Guines, the French Ambassador to the Court of St. James, who was removed at the request of Foreign Minister Vergennes shortly after Bonvouloir had been made a secret agent; but furthermore he was somewhat unprepossessing physically, wrote reports in a poor style, and he had made a bad impression by lying about his career in Haiti. Therefore, and despite the fact that his mission had been of the greatest importance, he was recalled and afterward succeeded only in enlisting in an expedition which landed in India; and there he died on April 18, 1783. (JOHN T. FARRELL)

IPSER, KARL. *Vatican Art.* Translated from the German by Doireann MacDermott. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. 198. 160 illustrations. $7.50.)

This work contains attractive, well chosen plates of often selected subjects in the Basilica of St. Peter and in the rooms, galleries, and museums of the Vatican Palace, beautifully reproduced in a soft, deep silvery brown. Beneath each reproduction one finds its history and an interpretative description.

The introductory text on the history of the Vatican and the Basilica of St. Peter, and that on Michelangelo and his frescoes in the Sistine Chapel, contain many faulty English constructions, misprints, omission of words, and an arbitrary use of Italian and German nomenclature. This may be due in part to the unfamiliarity with English on the part of the printers, but one would expect a greater care in proofreading in a work as elaborate as this. Toward the end of the book there is a bald, unannotated catalogue of the Vatican treasures listed in relation to their position in the various rooms, which seems rather useless when the size of the book precludes its being taken by a visitor on a tour of the galleries. There is a table of contents in the back of the book but no index. (CHARLES E. FITZGERALD)

LYONS, JOHN A. *Historical Sketches of St. Bernard's Church on Casey Creek, Clementsville, Kentucky.* (Louisville: Our Lady of Sorrows Rectory. 1953. Pp. vi, 216.)

Bound in heavy paper and published in offset printing, Father Lyons' history of Catholicism at Clementsville offers a detailed study of a Kentucky Catholic settlement that has already celebrated its sesquicentennial. Besides the sketch of the history on the parish, interested parties will find here detailed family trees of the early settlers on Casey Creek. Two indexes, maps, and a number of illustrations add to the usefulness of the book. (VINCENT MCMURRY)

MEYER, SISTER MARY EDGAR, O.S.F. *The Sources of Hojeda's La Cristiada.* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1953. Pp. xii, 233. $5.00.)

This dissertation is mainly concerned with the question of authors who might have been at the disposal of Fray Diego de Hojeda (1571-1615) when he wrote his religious epic in Peru (1609). Sister Edgar, however, misses her main problem, viz., to determine rather how Hojeda used his evident sources (Bible, *Flos Sanctorum,* Cabrera, Hernández Blasco, Vida, Tasso) than whether he found certain motifs in possible printed sources, although they occurred in current oral legends as well. Only in Chapter III the aesthetic task is seen in general; in the other chapters the certainly well read writer shows such a propensity to display her knowledge that she makes constant excursions from literature into second-hand theology. It is, e.g., the most normal thing that Hojeda should mention the legend of the chasuble bestowed on San Ildefonso by the Blessed Virgin, since this pseudo-relic is venerated in Oviedo and is known from many paintings; but Sister Edgar makes a digression on the variants, not of her text but of the legend itself, where the chasuble sometimes is replaced by an *alba,* a *vestimentum,* or a celestial robe. Or she does not see that Hojeda, who following the gospel in not specifying the angel who consoled Christ on the Mount of Olives, does not justify her excursus on the name of the angel as it appears in theological speculations. How a source-study on Hojeda has to be done, the author may learn from an article written at the same time as hers, viz., Frank Pierce, "The Poetic Hell in Hojeda's *La Cristiada:* Imitation and Originality," *Estudios Menéndez Pidal,* IV (1953), 469-508. A literary source-study is no place for chapters such as "Angelology" (twenty-six pages!) and "Demonology" (twenty-two pages!). And if there is a chapter on "Historical Episodes and Personages" (pp. 61-90), its only justification again would be the aesthetical use made of them in their poetical transference. This principle for literary source-studies was definitely established by Amado Alonso in his fundamental posthumous article "Lope de Vega y sus fuentes," *Thesaurus,* VIII (1952), 1-24. That the dissertation contains a wealth of not always pertinent information and much welcome bibliography should be acknowledged despite its lack of method and criticism. (HELMUT HATZFELD)

PANNETON, CANON GEORGES and ABBÉ ANTONIO MAGNAN, SR. *Le Diocèse de Trois-Rivières, 1852-1952.* (Trois Rivières, P. Qué., Canada: Editions du Bien Public. 1953. Pp. 381. $3.00.)

A diocese cannot do better—from the partisan point of view of the historian—than to mark each centenary milestone of its life by the publication of a fitting commemorative volume. Future compilers of such works could not improve on this model work which records in comprehensive detail all data relevant to the history of the Diocese of Trois Rivières since its foundation in 1852.

The authors have assembled brief biographies (with 270 portraits) of all the living priests, of the secular clergy, together with lists of the religious priests, of native priests now living outside the diocese, and of priests who have died since 1850. All the parishes are listed with their first and present pastors, followed by a chronological listing of foundations of religious communities throughout the diocese. A special section on vocations discloses that the diocese has twelve families having three priests who are brothers, while no less than sixty-six families have two. Every religious and secular event of religious importance in the last hundred years is noted in a 100-page condensed history of the diocese. The two compilers have served the Church and the cause of Catholic local history with a zeal that should not merely be admired but also imitated. (RAPHAEL BROWN)

Paris Peace Conference, 1946. Selected Documents. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1948. Pp. xvi, 1442.)

This is a selection of documents containing the deliberations and recommendations of the Paris Peace Conference of 1946. The conference was a meeting of representatives of the five major allied powers and other members of the United Nations to consider draft treaties of peace with Italy, Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary, and Finland. The task of preparing the five treaties for submission to the UN had been entrusted to the foreign ministers of the five major allied powers. This work was carried out at the first meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in London in September, 1945, a meeting of the Big Three Foreign Ministers in Moscow in December of the same year, a meeting of the deputy foreign ministers in London in January, 1946, and the Council of Foreign Ministers meeting in Paris in the spring and summer of 1946. The Paris conference of twenty-one nations, in the summer of 1946, considered every aspect of the treaties and adopted recommendations which played a large part in the settlement of issues upon which the Council of Foreign Ministers had not reached agreement. The recommendations of the conference were carefully considered in the final drafting of the treaties at the third session of the Council of Foreign Ministers, held in New York in November and December, 1946. Final agreement was based upon these recommendations.

This compilation is divided into two main categories: (1) the participants, organization, and procedures of the conference and (2) consideration of each of the five draft treaties in the primary commissions and in plenary sessions. An appendix of three supplementary documents concerning the statute of the Free Territory of Trieste is also included. (RALPH E. LOMBARDI)

POWERS, JAMES M. (Ed.). *Memoirs: The Seminary of Montezuma. Documents and Writings of Most Revered John Mark Gannon, Chairman of the Bishops' Committee for Montezuma Seminary and His Episcopal Associates.* (Erie, Pennsylvania: 205 West 9th Street. 1953. Pp. xiii, 225.)

In a spirit of gathering the fragments lest they be lost, Monsignor Powers, Vice Officialis of the Diocese of Erie, has preserved in this volume the essential facts of an heroic episode in the history of the American Church. In a sense it is history repeating itself, showing the American Southwest in our own time enacting the rôle of another Douai, and the American hierarchy, under the chairmanship of Archbishop Gannon, answering the plea of the persecuted Mexican Church as promptly and generously as did the European hierarchies in the dark days of the sixteenth century of the Church in England. Archbishop Cicognani calls the seminary at Montezuma, New Mexico, a "choice flower of Christian charity, which burgeoned in suffering." In this volume the reader feels that he has been handed the files and allowed to see the story unfold in the committee's offices. The challenge of "blood stained altars," the faith of an heroic people, the loving care of a dark-skinned Madonna for her other sons and daughters—all these are here, but in the simple style of memoirs. There is no attempt at literature. We hope that in the future the subject will attract other writers and thus reach those who may not be drawn by the factual method. Monsignor Powers' choice, however, means that the principal research has now been done and permanently recorded.

The story of the "Annus Mirabilis 1937" brought the reviewer back to the year of his own ordination when he was sent to the borderlands, where he saw the Blessed Sacrament hidden in a little table drawer in a back room; where he met great men like Bishop Juan Navarrete of Sonora; where he knew those who had felt the weight of the bishop's ordaining hands in the strange cathedral of a corral high in the hills, men who then went out to minister to their flock in the dark of night and in the shadow of disguise. The reviewer was working with the Mexicans at the time that help came from their brothers in the North. When they understood what was intended they were grateful for an Archbishop Gannon and his fellow bishops who had gathered about him. Gratitude is due to Monsignor Powers for his careful gathering of the fragments, for his volume is another tribute to the inspired zeal of a great American Catholic laity under apostolic leadership. (ROBERT J. DONOHOE)

QUINLAN, MARY HALL, R.S.C.J. *The Historical Thought of the Vicomte de Bonald.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1953. Pp. ix, 120. $1.50.)

This work was born of the author's conviction that the historical thought of Louis Gabriel Ambroise, Vicomte de Bonald, has been neglected, despite the attention that has been paid to his philosophical, sociological, and political thought. It analyzes Bonald's idea of progress, explains his "Law of the Three Stages," his conception of nature and society; and, finally, considers the influ-

ence which he exerted on such diverse figures as Saint-Simon, Comte, and Durkheim. Bonald was a man with a great sympathy for the Platonic tradition. Though never a modest man, he did not consider himself an historian, and there is little indeed in his writings that savors of cautious objectivity. It might be suggested, perhaps invidiously, that Bonald seemed to function best in the realm of the sweeping assumption, as is evidenced, e.g., in his development of his well known theory of language.

Perhaps the greatest service that the author renders is her exposition of the inadequacy of the labels that are often applied to Bonald. It is true that he had the sense of absolutes that characterized the traditionalists, but there is more than a *soupçon* of relativism in his historical theory. His conception of progress and human perfectibility reminds one of Condorcet, yet Bonald never considered a positivistic egalitarian society as either necessary or desirable.

It is inevitable, too, that his three stages of personal, public, and popular power should invite a comparison to Comte; yet Bonald differed sharply from Comte, particularly in his disdain of the physical sciences, and in his emphasis on the political unit as a whole as the subject of progress. The author has made a scholarly contribution to the literature on the Vicomte de Bonald, but the frequency of direct quotations and the inadequacy of the index are to be regretted. (Robert Paul Mohan)

Sherman, Hugh. *Modern Ireland.* (London: George G. Harrap & Co., Ltd. 1952. Pp. 160. 7/6.)

This little book attempts a survey of the course of Irish history from the eighteenth century to the present. In all such efforts, of course, where too much information is compressed into a few pages, balance is difficult to maintain. When the author says, e.g., that the land reforms of the last quarter of the nineteenth century were simply products of British paternalism and not the result of "any conflict or uprising," he ignores the effect of the Land League upon the great land reform bill of 1881. Nevertheless, the facts are here and it may be, as author and publisher believe, that the book will be useful for students in secondary schools and lazy members of an older generation anxious to know what has happened to Ireland. They will not, however, find it very entertaining and for more judicious insight into the affairs of Ireland they might better read Nicholas Mansergh's *Britain and Ireland,* written during the war for Longman's pamphlet series on the British Commonwealth. What we really need, of course, are not concise accounts of modern Ireland, but fat multi-volume studies done by serious historians in the manner of Lecky. (Thomas N. Brown)

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